

# AMERICA

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## Chronicle

**Home News.**—Most glowing reports of progress and highly optimistic forecasts continue to be published by each of the three political parties. Though this is to be expected during these concluding days of the campaign, it is difficult to determine just how much of the publicity is propaganda and what is based on fact. Observers who are endeavoring impartially to sound public opinion agree that the campaign becomes more baffling as it proceeds. The main reason why the results are uncertain and why even vague forecasts are almost impossible is that the voters themselves, in great part, are in a quandary. Public confidence in the two traditional parties has been profoundly shaken; allegiance to the Progressives is being withheld because of a certain fear in regard to some of their radical principles and the supremacy in the party of the extreme groups. As a result, there is an undercurrent of doubt in the minds of the majority of voters. From present indications, it would appear that the campaign instead of clarifying itself will become more confused, and the chances of the respective candidates must hang in the balance until the election is actually completed. Some pressure has been brought to bear on President

### Election Forecasts

Coolidge to force him to change his decision of holding aloof from the campaign as a political speaker. But he persists in his attitude of silence. However, his addresses, mostly over the radio, to private gatherings have become more frequent; though these are not professedly of a political nature their intent is plainly partisan. General Dawes and most of the other prominent Republicans continue to single out Senator LaFollette as the target of their attacks and to assail, in particular, his proposals on the courts. A most violent assault on both the Progressive candidates was made by Mr. Weeks, Secretary of War. Examining the legislative and political record of Senator LaFollette, he declared that "practically every important party measure introduced in the Senator's incumbency failed to receive his support and in most instances had his active opposition." He criticized Senator Wheeler for accepting the candidacy while he is "under an indictment for violating the laws of the United States." Of the Progressive Party itself, Mr. Weeks said "For the first time in history we see an amalgamation of the forces of discontent into a political party." Of late, Secretary Hughes has become a more prominent factor in the campaign. Unlike the other Republican orators, he is directing his attacks mostly against the Democratic candidate and a lively debate is thus being carried on between these two eminent lawyers. Otherwise, the addresses of Mr. Hughes have been mostly a defense and a commendation of the Administration's foreign and domestic policy.

In his second tour through the Middle West, Mr. Davis kept battering the Republican corruption and non-accomplishment in office. Incidentally, he continued his debate with Mr. Hughes. Speaking in Indiana, where he made his first direct appeal to the business interests, he denied the allegation of the Progressives that there was no fundamental difference between the Republicans and the Democrats. He declared that there was a most decided difference between his party and his Republican opponents, and supported his contention by enumerating such issues as the oil leases, the solutions to the farm problems, the proposed ship subsidy and the tariff. In his Illinois addresses, he varied his attacks on Republican corruption and on the officials involved in it, by deriding the efforts of the Republicans to misrepresent the political situation. They were trying to win votes to themselves, he stated,

by exaggerating the fear that the election would be thrown into Congress and they were endeavoring to make an issue by manufacturing a "brand-new bogey man," Senator LaFollette. Mr. Davis stated emphatically that he did not agree with the Progressive program; nevertheless he could not accept the view that Bolshevism was the cardinal issue in the campaign.

Senator LaFollette, speaking in Chicago, declared that throughout the country, the voters were flocking to the Progressive standard. His program, he said, was "to restore economic equality before the law," and also "to restore government to the broad basis of the popular will." The Progressive platform, he went on to say, voices the peoples aspirations for justice, liberty and peace. He defended his attitude on the courts in general and replied in detail to the attacks made by both parties on his proposed amendment concerning the veto power of the Supreme Court. In this connection he denied that the judges are the sole defenders of our liberties; he reiterated his accusation that in the courts, as at present constituted, "property rights are made supreme over human rights." In St. Louis, he declared that the two older parties had departed from American traditions and principles in regard to their foreign policies. The same forces, he continued, are still governing the foreign policies of both Republicans and Democrats as caused this country to abandon its policy of neutrality during the World War. He summarized these forces in the phrase, "the private monopoly system." Senator LaFollette in his tour through the agricultural districts of the Middle West is making a forceful appeal to the farmers.

**China.**—Events in China have taken a new turn. After a final stand at Hwangtu, fifteen miles west of Shanghai, the Chekiang troops were forced to leave the field. An

armistice was arranged with the Kiangsu army and the defeated soldiers withdrew. Their discipline, at first, remained sufficiently good but trouble and looting began soon after. By October 17 as many as 5,000 leaderless and hungry men who had belonged to the defeated Chekiang forces entrenched themselves in the railway quarters of Shanghai and refused to surrender themselves. In all 30,000 soldiers soon retreated towards Shanghai and about half of these very speedily encamped in and about that city with no further military purpose. The city merchants were furnishing food for the surly men until they might be disarmed and dispersed. In the meantime the deposed Military Governor of the Chekiang Province and leader of the defeated army, General Lu Tung-Hsiang, found refuge with his family in Japan. With him went also his former Defense Commissioner at Shanghai Ho Feng-ling.

While the war has thus been terminated in one field of action, it is being waged with redoubled vigor on the main scene of conflict, from which however only meager

reports reach us. At various points near the Great Chinese Wall the armies of Chang Tso-lin are engaged in a series of conflicts with the troops of the Central Chinese Government. Tremendous casualties are reported to have taken place, particularly in the fighting around Shan-haikwan and Chang's forces are said to have been driven beyond the Great Wall.

While these formal battles continue an entirely independent war between merchants and laborers has broken out with bloody consequences in the Canton Province. The occasion for these hostilities was given by the Merchants Volunteer Corps, known as the Chinese Facists and composed of merchants and professional men, with a membership of 200,000. It was formed "to organize effective resistance to the grosser forms of military tyranny," and has an actual fighting force of 60,000 armed men. Difficulties began when an attempt was made by them to stop a labor parade, which later developed into the so-called "Red Army." An armed clash resulted. Previous to this a merchants' strike had been organized as a protest against the withholding of a consignment of arms to the Chinese Facists by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He finally permitted the delivery of the guns and ammunition when the merchants voted to pay him the sum of 500,000 Mexican dollars. As a result of the armed hostilities that developed between the Merchants Volunteer Corps and the Red Army fires broke out in many quarters of Canton and by October 16 about 1,000 persons had been killed or burned to death. A report from Hongkong also tells of the destruction and looting of 1,000 shops. It is somewhat difficult to obtain exact information of any kind, particularly as to the part played by Dr. Sun Yat-sen who seems to have lost all interest in the Chang and Wu conflict that is dividing the rest of China, and apparently has begun a "clean-up" campaign in his own Province.

**France.**—France is seeking another loan in the United States, and preparatory negotiations are now in progress, which in government circles are expected soon to be successfully concluded.

#### *A Government Loan*

Plans were discussed at a meeting of the French cabinet on October 17, but no decision was reached concerning the proposals of Finance Minister, M. Clementel. At a dinner the same evening Premier Herriot, M. Clementel, J. P. Morgan, Owen D. Young, and several of Mr. Morgan's collaborators met to discuss plans, but the intimate character of the business discussed remained a secret. Estimates of the projected loan have been from \$100,000,000 to \$150,000,000. The chief reason for these negotiations is the stabilization of the franc which is again showing itself to be hard pressed. But a further advantage the French Government hopes to gain is the possibility of allowing France through a new loan to take a good place in the competition for world trade which is expected to follow the full working order of the Dawes plan.



The French religious issue continues acute and a general source of internal irritation for the country. It will be remembered that the six French Cardinals addressed a

*Herriot and  
the Bishops*

joint letter of protest to the Premier on account of the Government's projected threat to carry out its anti-clerical program. To this Premier Herriot almost immediately replied in a letter which was respectful enough, and in which he endeavored to state the Government's position in this matter. It is not religious liberty, he said, that the Government would deny to any Frenchman, but the interference on the part of foreigners in the complete independence of the State, and he cited the example of Richelieu and Mazarin. This response of the Premier was in its turn replied to in a lengthy pronouncement by Cardinal Andrieu. The Cardinal points out that the Premier's interpretation of the policies of Richelieu and Mazarin is unhistorical and insists that the fears about the dependence of the State upon any foreign influence is entirely unwarranted. Thus there appears a sharp and deep-seated difference of viewpoint on these matters that will not easily be reconciled. The meetings of Catholic organizations for the strengthening of their opposition to the Government is continuing and there is a movement on foot for the revocation of the law of 1901 against the religious congregations. Action was taken in this respect by the League for Religious Defense of Paris. It has addressed itself to a competent commission of the Senate and the Chambers, asking these members in the name of religious liberty and of internal peace to use their influence for the abrogation of the anti-religious laws.

**Germany.**—No one was astonished when the \$110,000,000 of Germany's reconstruction loan, offered in the American market, on October 14, was overbought four times in ten minutes. Subscription

*German Loan.  
The Zeppelin*

books were closed fifteen minutes after they were opened for the loan, and it is estimated that the complete subscriptions may actually have exceeded a billion dollars. In the successful operation of the loan our Ambassador to Germany, Alanson B. Houghton, sees a great benefit to America as well as to Germany, since it will in all likelihood increase Germany's ability to buy in our markets, and it is here recalled that before the war Germany was our best customer but one. In regard to Germany's need of the loan our Ambassador says:

Today we find in Germany and elsewhere a frightful lack of available and active capital. The factories are there, the men, the management, but the capital to put these forces at work is not there, and must in some way be provided if Germany is to have an opportunity to function normally.

For three years in Germany, I have watched the almost super-human struggle of the German people to make their way through adversity. I know they want to work and that they will work

. . . It is not to be denied that a rehabilitated Germany will make for the prosperity of our own people.

But even the great loan itself and the political troubles in which the land is still involved were for the moment forgotten as the news reached Germany of the safe arrival of Zeppelin ZR-3 in America after its spectacular transatlantic flight. It was a new thrill for the German people to find themselves once more successful, and they saw in this achievement the presage of better and happier days for their land. President Ebert sent the following message to the Zeppelin's commander, Dr. Hugo Eckner, at Lakehurst, N. J.:

After your successful transatlantic flight I, together with the entire German people and the Government, congratulate you and your brave crew most heartily. Your achievement will live in history as a great event. Let us hope that the ZR-3 in the course of further flights will proclaim Germany's genius and challenge all nations to free and peaceful rivalry.

Strong pleas are being made for the preservation of the Zeppelin plant at Friedrichshafen which according to the stipulations of the Versailles Treaty would have to be destroyed. British and American experts urge the preservation of these works whose destruction the editor of the British *Aeroplane* says would be "a crime against civilization."

**Great Britain.**—After the dissolution of Parliament, all three parties immediately instituted a most intensive campaign in preparation for the general election on October 29. Election manifestos were issued, the political leaders began tours of the country and strenuous efforts

*Party  
Manifestos*

were made to arouse the electors from the apathy with which they accepted the necessity of an unwelcome election. The manifesto of the Labor Party, entitled "Labor's Appeal to the People," opens with a brief reference to the Government's "defeat by a partisan combination of Liberals and Tories." In its enumeration of what the Labor Government has done for the "supreme need of this country, as of the whole world,—peace and the restoration of industry and commerce," it mentions the passage of the Irish Bill, the strengthening of the ties with the Dominions, the establishment of friendly relations with France, and the progress made at Geneva towards arbitration and world disarmament. A special section, devoted to the "Russian treaties now awaiting ratification" explains and justifies Labor's championship of these compacts. As instances of domestic achievements are mentioned the housing, educational and unemployment projects of the Labor Administration and the Snowden budget. The manifesto concludes with a plea for support so that the Labor Party may "work in Parliament towards a transformation . . . of the existing economic and industrial situation into a genuine commonwealth of labor," and, as is stated later, into "a really Socialistic commonwealth."

The preface to the Liberal manifesto asserts that the

election has been thrust upon the country by the Labor Government because, first it was not prepared to face an impartial inquiry into the withdrawal of the sedition charges, and second, it wished to evade Parliamentary discussion of the reckless proposals contained in the Russian Treaties. Then follows a recapitulation of the Liberal program in regard to housing and unemployment, industrial peace, free trade and several minor points; special mention is made of Mr. Lloyd George's "coal and power" project, through which the State would be enabled "to acquire all mineral rights and to provide assistance and direction in the building of super-power stations."

In the Conservative statement of issues, as in the Liberal, the opening paragraphs are devoted to a condemnation of the Laborites for precipitating a general election because they feared to allow a scrutiny into their activities concerning the Campbell case and the treaties with the Soviet. Main insistence is placed by the Conservatives on their solutions to social and economic problems. Only a slight reference is made to the Tory tradition of a strong imperial policy. The election issue of last December, it may be noted, namely, Free Trade versus Protection, is not stressed in any of these documents.

Since there are no outstanding critical issue at stake in this election, all three parties are merely stressing general policies and principles and are freely indulging in personalities. There seems to be some foundation for the report that the campaign will develop into a contest between Labor and anti-Labor. Some speculations are even made as to the possibility of a Tory-Liberal coalition cabinet. This is based, probably, on the fact that an agreement has been reached between Conservatives and Liberals to avoid triangular contests in several constituencies. They deny that this is an anti-Labor pact; but in many sections, through the withdrawal of candidates of either party, there is a direct alignment between Labor and only one of the other parties. This has happened, particularly in Scotland and in Mr. MacDonald's own constituency of Aberavon. The Labor Party, likewise, will not put forward candidates to contest the seats of the Liberals who voted with it on the measure which brought about its defeat. Within the Labor ranks there does not appear the same solidarity as in those of the other two parties. The radical Socialist section has never been in complete sympathy with Mr. MacDonald and the moderates. Some local branches are now defying the central organization by naming Communist candidates. In this they are repudiating the resolutions of the recent Labor Conference. The names of 1425 candidates appear in the complete nomination lists. These are, according to parties: Conservatives, 534; Laborites, 509; Liberals, 339; others, 43. Of these candidates 16 Conservatives, 9 Laborites and 6 Liberals are unopposed.

**Italy.**—Premier Mussolini has reacted vigorously to the unsympathetic and even hostile attitude shown his

party by the pronouncements of the National Congress of the Liberal party. His tour of the north of Italy, which was taking place during the time of the Liberal Congress, was one round of most fervent acclamation on the part of the people, and so encouraged was the Premier with this show of loyalty that upon his return to Rome he felt himself strong enough to disregard any inimical or unsympathetic attitude of any other party in the country. He will continue "alone if necessary, along the road towards the goal which Facism has set for itself." In a statement to a representative of the *New York Times* he said in part: "With all due modesty I must confess that I have no words to express how moved I am by the truly wonderful reception they (the people of the North) accorded me. Why then should I worry about a bare score thousand of those whom I have already described as melancholy zealots of superconstitutionalism." He admitted that his party has made mistakes and he deplored the murder of Matteotti, which, he said, wrought for the moment a great injury on Facism. This was due in great part, to the misrepresentations of the opposition press. Unconcerned about the attitude of the liberals, Facism will continue its wonderful work for the reconstruction of Italy, and will be willing to work with any party that desires to cooperate. But in the meantime the party will go on alone because its good work for Italy has only just begun.

**Japan.**—It is difficult to foresee what portentous developments may take place in the Far East. Japan at all events is wide awake to her interests in the great Chinese conflict. The plan to withdraw her garrison of four battalions from South Manchuria has been shelved indefinitely. She has further forwarded notes to both the warring Chinese factions, in Peking and Mukden. The documents, which are identical in their contents, read:

The Japanese Government have consistently observed an attitude of strict non-interference in the civil strife now unfortunately dividing China. Whatever the cause of the conflict between the two opposing forces, they are equally parts of the Chinese people with which Japan has no other desire than to promote the relations of friendship.

At the same time, there are hundreds of thousands of Japanese actually resident, and Japanese investments and enterprises on a large scale have been evidenced in the region of Manchuria and Mongolia. In particular, Japan's own security depends largely on the maintenance of law and order in that region.

With no intention whatever of interfering in the domestic trouble in China, the Japanese Government desires to call to the serious attention of both contending forces these obvious facts and to state that Japan deems it of capital importance that these rights and interests so essential to her be fully respected and safeguarded.

American officials are said to be seriously concerned over what is termed "insidious" anti-American propaganda conducted by the Japanese press.

Premier  
Mussolini

Political  
Alignments



## St. Augustine and Evolution

WILLIAM L. HORNSBY, S.J.

SIR BERTRAM WINDLE, in a recent able article published by the N. C. W. C., cited a statement of Canon Dorlodot of Louvain to the effect that some of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church taught evolution in the sense of transformism. St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas among the Latin Doctors were especially mentioned as having held that doctrine. Now, these two illustrious authors are our greatest and most authoritative masters in philosophical speculations bearing upon revealed truth; hence it is a matter of no little importance for us to know what they really taught on this subject. I propose considering briefly in the present article the claim that St. Augustine taught transformism, or evolution by the development of one species into another.

St. Augustine treats the origin of species in detail in his work on the literal interpretation of the first chapters of Genesis (*"De Genesi ad Litteram"*). With regard to the creation of the different species of plants and animals he held a view peculiar to him among the Latin Fathers, but similar to that held by some of the Greeks, notably St. Gregory of Nyssa. Stated briefly the opinion was that God's act of creation was instantaneous, and that in that primeval act He put into inanimate creation forces which St. Augustine calls "principles like seeds" (*"rationes quasi seminales"*), which under given conditions, with the natural working of the elements, produced different species at different times, and the appearance of plants and fishes and birds and reptiles and mammals followed the order given in the account of creation in the Bible.

This is evidently a kind of evolution. Nature had the power, given by God, of producing more and more perfect forms of life in an orderly succession. This view recommended itself to the great mind of St. Augustine as representing a more excellent mode of creation than the common view that God, at successive periods of time, created or produced the different species of living creatures. Not a few Catholic interpreters and philosophers have followed St. Augustine in this opinion; as, for instance, the Rev. Nicholas Monaco, S.J., professor of philosophy in the Gregorian University of Rome.

But in the opinion of St. Augustine transformism is by no means stated or implied. Let the distinction be clearly understood. St. Augustine says that the different species come from the seed-like principles implanted in non-living matter by the Creator. This statement evidently does not include transformism, neither does it expressly exclude

it. It does not include transformism, for we can understand that those seed-like principles were as numerous as the species produced and that each "principle" gave rise to one fixed species. Transformism is not expressly excluded, because the Creator might have given those seminal or seed-like principles the power of working in that way. We are, therefore, to interpret St. Augustine according to the general principles of criticism.

The reasons why we say St. Augustine did not hold or teach transformism may be briefly summed up under five heads. First, he does not state it; secondly, if he held it he should have stated it clearly, being something quite new and never put forward before; thirdly, transformism is at variance with the Holy Doctor's general philosophy; fourthly, he repeatedly implies fixity of species by referring to the specific activity of each kind of living being; fifthly and lastly, the doctrine of St. Augustine is reported by Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas without any hint of transformism. A word of explanation under each of these heads.

As to the first point, the first obvious rule of interpretation is not to give to an author's statement more than the words bear out. Now, St. Augustine merely states the origin of different kinds of living beings from the seminal principles and says not a word about one species developing or evolving from another. He makes it quite clear that just as the whole tree is contained potentially or causally in its proper seed, so the different species may have been contained in the seed-like principles implanted in matter. Nothing whatever is said of organic evolution.

Secondly: if St. Augustine had intended to teach anything like transformism he should have stated it clearly and at some length, because such a doctrine had never been broached before, was quite unheard of at his time. Now, an author proposing a new theory should be explicit about it, as St. Augustine is in this very work concerning his theory of the *"rationes quasi seminales."* He explains it in detail, illustrates it in various ways, comes back to it in several places, and spares no pains to have it well understood. If such a novelty as transformism had entered into his theory, would he have failed to set it forth in unmistakable language?

Thirdly, as to the general philosophy of St. Augustine. It is well known that he was a Platonist to the extent that Christian truth would permit. He believed in the immutable, ideal types to which all existing things must conform; only as a Christian he held that those prototypes

have none but an ideal existence, in the mind of God. He would say, for instance, with Plato, that there is an immutable type of the horse, and that horses, wherever or whenever they might exist, were conformed to that type. Transformists, on the contrary, tell us that the horse has been constantly changing, evolving from a small five-toed creature to the large and swift animal of today walking on single ungulate toes. How unwarranted it is, then, to attribute to St. Augustine a theory of transformism, not contained in his works and clearly at variance with his philosophy.

Fourthly: St. Augustine takes the fixity of species for granted when he affirms, as he does repeatedly, that all things in the world act each according to its own "definite force and quality" received from the seed-like principles, a force which they cannot change or transcend but by the special intervention of God. "So that," he says, "a bean does not come from a grain of wheat, or wheat from a bean, or man from a brute, or a brute from man." This is very clear, and it repudiates transformism as pointedly as any one who knew nothing of that particular doctrine could do.

Fifthly and lastly, we legitimately conclude that St. Augustine did not teach transformism from the fact that no one until our own time ever pretended to find such a theory in his works. Would such a theory in the great Doctor's writings have escaped the sharp eyes of Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas, who mastered St. Augustine's works as few others have ever done? Both of them record the opinion of the Saint regarding the origin of species, but with no hint of the doctrine of transformism.

Thus there seems to be no foundation whatever for the assertion that St. Augustine held any theory of transformism. Of course, numberless scientific facts of today were never heard of by our greatest divines and philosophers; so might it be with transformism, if that hypothesis should ever be proved to be true.

## Tearing Masks From Four Thousand Klansmen

MAURICE FRANCIS

**T**HE City of Buffalo, N. Y., has the unique distinction of having a mayor who tore the masks from the faces of 4,000 Klansmen, 4,025 to be exact. The mayor's name is Francis Xavier Schwab, a fearless executive.

Incidentally, the tearing of the masks from the faces of the Klansmen has brought about a condition of affairs that makes a vivid and startling picture of the effects of an "invisible empire" in America. Five murders, one suicide, one man shot and near to death; neighborhood grocery stores, meat markets and drug stores openly boycotted; one house bombed; the business of milkmen and small merchants ruined over night; neighbor suspicious of neighbor—these are some of the fruits of the Klansmen's one hundred per cent Americanism.

But in the struggle the Ku Klux Klan has been exposed and crushed, and the first arrests in the State made under the new Walker law, the anti-Klan statute to compel the filing of Klan membership lists. The battle is still on, however, and so bitter is the feeling that the better people of the city of all classes are aroused to a keen sense of duty and of patriotism, and to the necessity of putting an end to the Klan and its influence effectively and speedily.

Buffalo, a city of more than half a million population, has a number of lodges of Orangemen, and in the old A. P. A. days was a hotbed of these breeders of bigotry. The Klan effected an energetic organization in the city two months ago, and proceeded "to camp on the trail" of Mayor Schwab. Klan detectives trailed him; Klan reformers heckled him; Klansmen themselves, with hoods and gowns, rushed into one meeting where he was delivering an address and demanded to know what he was doing to put an end to liquor selling and vice in the city.

Six months ago the Federation of Churches took up the fight against the mayor. Rev. E. H. L. Smith, pastor of a Presbyterian Church, was one of the prime movers in this fight. The mayor openly charged him with being a Klansman, and also made the accusation that the fight against him was backed solidly by the Klan, and for no other motive except bigotry. Charge and counter-charge were hurled, and then Rev. Mr. Smith's house was bombed, when himself and family were conveniently absent. The mayor charged that the house was bombed by the Klan itself; the clergyman, that the house was bombed by the friends of the mayor, leaders in the vice and liquor law violations.

Things reached such a climax that Mayor Schwab determined to tear the tasks from the face of every Klansman in Buffalo; determined to make them stand in the light of day, revealing their identities and their motives. He placed a trusted police lieutenant in charge of the work, and the officer put a number of dependable men on the trail of the Klan. One of these men—Edward C. Oberteau, a former police officer, joined the Klan, worked among the Klansmen, obtained the secrets of the organization and sprung the trap for the hooded order.

A few weeks ago the entire membership list of the Buffalo Klan was stolen from its headquarters, and much of the correspondence of the officials of the hooded hoodoo. Files and documents of every kind were carted away. As the Bertillon expert of the city of Buffalo is a Catholic, Klansmen hurried to the neighboring city of Rochester to hire the Bertillon expert from that city to get finger prints of the men who rifled the "Klan klean." But the Rochester man calmly told the Klan emissary that he was very busy with his own work. They made other efforts to get finger prints, but with little or no success.

Then the bomb exploded. All of the Klan documents



were sent to Mayor Schwab from Cleveland, O., a short time after they had been stolen. Being stolen property, he turned them over to the Buffalo Chief of Police, with orders that they be made public. But the Chief refused to do this, and a taxpayer brought a court action against him, compelling the publication of the names. Then the city settled down into a divided religious family. The boycotts started, and bad blood became only too evident. Friendships of many years were sundered. Milk dealers lost hundreds of customers in a single day. After this came the murders. And one man whose name was on the list committed suicide.

For the Klan roster contained 4,025 names—school teachers, police officers, insurance men, an assemblyman, city officials, ministers, bootleggers, cafe proprietors, mechanics, farmers, laborers, the president of a popular luncheon club, the editor of a newspaper, the principal of a large public school, and others.

It is charged that the Klan imported a gunman from the South, and determined efforts were made to find the man who was responsible for the loss of the Klan records. Suspicion centered upon Oberitean. A diary kept by him reveals the fact that he felt certain he was marked for death.

One night recently the imported gunman from the South and the Klan Kleagle of Buffalo followed Oberitean to a suburb of the city. A pistol duel developed quickly, and Oberitean was shot dead in the sight of a number of spectators. But not before he had drawn his own gun, killed the North Carolina Klansman and dangerously wounded the Klan Kleagle of Buffalo. The Kleagle, slowly recovering from his wounds in a Buffalo hospital, is under police guard, and if he recovers will be arrested in connection with the deaths of Austin and Oberitean. Three other murders, less sensational, had their origin in the publication of the Klan roster.

John Doe proceedings have been instituted in Buffalo to determine whether or not the Klan has violated the Walker act, and threats have been made that every one of the 4,025 Klansmen will be summoned if necessary to make the case a perfect one. The constitutionality of the act will undoubtedly be determined by these proceedings.

Meanwhile Mayor Schwab has issued an appeal to all fair-minded people of Buffalo to join in a public movement to crush bigotry and to stand and live and work together as neighbors, citizens of America and friends. He is meeting with much success, and the general belief in Buffalo is that the Klan is dead, as dead as the gunman who came North to teach the people of Buffalo his ideas of "one hundred per cent Americanism."

The correspondence taken from Klan headquarters includes a petition signed by 1,200 Buffalo men, asking the Imperial Wizard, Simmons, to give a charter to the Buffalo branch of the hooded order. It also included a letter to the Buffalo Kleagle from the head of the hooded

order in the State, with a check for \$300 for Rev. Mr. Smith, to pay for the damage done to his home, and the statement that the bombing of the home was "the best piece of advertising the order has had in the State." Readers are left to draw their own conclusions. Mayor Schwab has drawn his already.

While all these things have been going on Buffalo has been vividly awakened to the fact that an invisible empire and a polecat, while not synonymous, are equally dangerous to the good odor of any respectable community.

## The Klan Issue in Indiana

M. CHOMEL

IN Indiana the presidential campaign is being fought out on issues of very particular interest to the Catholics, not only of that State, but of the nation.

Politics has little to do with the election in Indiana this year. It is a plain open and shut Klan issue. The people are not so much concerned as to whether a Democratic or Republican governor shall preside over affairs of State government for the next four years; but they are mightily concerned as to whether the Klan shall rule in the State House.

In the last presidential election there was much disaffection among Democrats of Irish extraction on the League of Nations issue. Thousands of these Democrats voted the Republican ticket. This year disaffected Democrats of this class are said to be back in their own party; driven there by the fact that the Republican candidate for Governor is the Klan candidate.

Dr. Carleton B. McCulloch, Democratic candidate for governor, is making his campaign on an anti-Klan platform. Not only has Dr. McCulloch openly challenged the organization in signed statements and speeches, but he has drawn to his support scores of fair-minded Protestants from the Republican ranks, who deplore the fact that their State has been made the battleground of the hooded organization.

For this reason the progress of the Indiana campaign is being watched with more than ordinary interest; although Indiana politics always looms large in the public eye. It has become somewhat axiomatic among Indianians that as their State goes, so goes the nation.

At this writing those managing the Democratic campaign in Indiana believe that Dr. Carleton B. McCulloch will be elected. Their sixty-day poll leads them to believe that a surprisingly large number of persons in Indiana will vote for La Follette, and that his greatest strength being shown in strongly Republican counties, more of his votes will come from Republicans than from Democrats. The Republicans appear to be confident that President Coolidge will carry the State, but as to their State ticket they are uneasy.

Both parties have their hands full trying to appease

those who are at outs with them. Many of the Germans who left the Democratic party in 1920 are still fighting the war. With memories of the League of Nations they will not vote the Democratic national ticket, and they will have none of Edward Jackson, Republican-Klan candidate for governor. Neither will they vote for Coolidge and Dawes, because of the Dawes reparations plan. They will, therefore, vote for McCulloch for governor and La Follette for president.

Coolidge has not made as vigorous a showing against the Klan as some Republican opponents of the Klan would like him to have made; nor did the speech of Dawes entirely satisfy those opposed to the masked body.

Indiana is a coal-mining State; La Follette's strength and the belief that his vote will be surprisingly large rest upon his popularity with coal miners and railroad workers, and the fact that certain elements will not vote for either of the other candidates.

Then, too, the colored voters of Indiana are aroused over the Klan. They find it hard to accept the fact that the Klan dictated the Republican candidate for governor. One of their leaders, who has always been a Republican, is advising them to vote the straight Democratic ticket. Democratic candidates are speaking in colored churches, and independent voters' leagues are being formed among the colored people. Their earnestness is shown by the fact that they pay their own expenses.

As has been said, the contest over the governorship is not political, the Democratic campaign being an open fight against the Klan. The situation was thus expressed by an anti-Klan leader. "The Klan declares for separation of Church and State. We are for separation of Klan and State."

Many prominent Republicans want to rescue their party from the grip of the Klan. Should Jackson be elected they see a Klan-ridden Republican party, the Klan dictating its policies, naming its candidates and dominating the State government. They see that within two years, a United States senator will be elected, and they do not want him to be tainted with Klan. Many of these Republicans openly declare, therefore, that while they will vote for Coolidge, they will not vote for Jackson. On the other hand Jackson will gain some Democratic votes.

It is believed that thousands of Republicans who will not openly declare themselves, intend to vote, because of the Klan, at least the Democratic State ticket. This belief has come about through reports of party workers, who find three times as many "doubtful" voters as usual, where the State ticket is concerned. A county in which there has been no Klan disturbance shows practically no doubtful vote.

Republican newspapers in northern Indiana support Coolidge for president and McCulloch for governor. It is said, also, that the anti-Klan sentiment among certain Republicans has interfered with the campaign fund. One leader, for example, who has always been a very generous

contributor sent his regrets to the State committee this year.

It can be predicted that, what appeared at one time quite possible, that the Klan would come into control of the Indiana State government, now seems extremely doubtful. Nor does it appear that it will again be a factor in State politics. Its power is waning.

## When Is a Klan Not a Klan?

JUSTIN A. WEST

**I**N Colorado there is a strong organization known as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan which has seen fit to seek an injunction against the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Georgia, prohibiting it from using the official name in that State and from doing business there. The principal charge mentioned in the suit filed with the district court is that besides "operating in defiance of the laws of the State," the Klan of Georgia is "a menace to the government of Colorado and to the United States Government."

In many instances [says the complaint] members of the defendant Klan have organized themselves into mobs and have committed acts of violence and have whipped and tortured people to such an extent as to destroy their peace and happiness.

They have in many instances supplanted the regularly constituted authority in the administration of the law and have in innumerable instances taken the law into their own hands, and have become accusers, judges, jurors and executioners, to the violation of all the rights guaranteed to the people under the Constitution.

The Colorado Klan then becomes specific in its charges against the Georgia Klan and cites a few alleged offenses of that organization. It is further stated that the Klan under the jurisdiction of Imperial Wizard Evans,

has perfected an espionage system in all the States of the Union, employing many criminals with long and notorious records, as investigators. This espionage system covers the entire category of crime, murder, burglary, adultery, theft, abduction and the attempted infection of their enemies with the smallpox germ.

The organization which has filed these charges is not a Catholic klan, yet it is doubtful if a denunciation of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Georgia has ever surpassed the sweeping accusations contained in the suit brought by the plaintiff Klan against the original organization. Not only that, but they have been made by a Klan which is itself not above reproach.

For the past year the Klan of Colorado has grown rapidly and its activities especially in politics cannot be ignored. It has dominated the Republican party in the State to the extent that primaries resulted in one long recitation of Klan-picked candidates. The Democrats of Colorado incorporated a plank in their platform in which they denounce the Ku Klux Klan by name in no flimsy manner; but the Republicans, compelled to make some sort of statement, mention no names and dismiss the matter by saying: "We condemn all attempts to breed race and religious dissensions and to make political capital therefrom."



Even this feeble pronouncement is too strong in regard to the political activities of the Colorado Klan. In Denver, which is the Klan stronghold, a petition for the recall of the mayor was filed and resulted in an election recently. For months Klansmen had been holding secret conclave on Castle mountain near Denver, and just before the election they came boldly forward and, combining with the local Ministerial Alliance, openly supported the mayor who is said to be himself a Klansman.

Not only was the contest fraught with political dissensions, but even religion was not spared. Religious bigotry was very much in evidence and, to all appearances, sanctioned by the Klan. The evening of the election Klansmen gathered on the mountain top in a blaze of glory made possible by hundreds of automobiles parked in a circle with headlights streaming in all directions and three fiery crosses. Certain of victory they made their selection of candidates for the November election. The Klan mayor was re-elected by a plurality of 30,000.

In the face of this, the Colorado Klan makes show of the express intentions not "to breed religious dissensions and makes political capital therefrom," and its members see fit to denounce the Georgia Klan for some acts of which they themselves are guilty. They make especial efforts to show that they are not tainted with religious prejudice, yet their solicitors sing the song of hate in Colorado no less vigorously than the Georgia Klan sings it elsewhere. Even the average member cannot refrain from referring to the Catholic citizen in no commendatory terms, although the officials of the Klan have repeatedly stated that neither the Catholic layman nor his religion is the object of attack.

Catholics have nothing to fear, however, and those who are still alarmed at the possibilities of Klanism may well consider the truth of Senator La Follette's denunciation of the Klan and his prophesy that its dissolution is at hand. "It has within its own body the seeds of its death," he said.

There is discord and even open hostility in the Klan ranks which have caused division among the members. The pronouncements anent religious prejudice and political activity are an open admission that they realize they are not acting in accordance with the purely "American-American" ideals which they profess. While undoubtedly the Klan leaders know that they must purge their organization of undesirable elements if they hope to be tolerated much longer by the American people, they are loath to do so, since many, if not the majority, of their members joined because they were actuated by prejudice. In other words, it is time to clean house, but to clean house would be to destroy it.

There could be no more encouraging news for the anti-Klan citizen than to learn that "Grand Dragons" and other high officials met in July in a western State and proposed drastic measures to deal with the unruly elements within the Klan itself and to discard some of their obnoxious practises. If this was a sincere effort to eradicate the evils of Klanism, the officers are to be praised for their action. But the question is: Can they purify their organization without destroying it? This is extremely doubtful.

At any rate, the recent holier-than-thou program adopted by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Colorado is convincing proof that the fibers of Klanism are weakening, and that the agitation will die down with the ebbing tide of the presidential campaign after the election in November.

The Colorado Klan has, as might be expected, other besides altruistic motives in seeking to enjoin the Klan of Georgia from operating in Colorado. They mention in their suit certain "valuable franchise rights" which they wish to safeguard. Perhaps this is, after all, their prime object in filing suit, and their denunciation of the Evans Klansmen is merely another case of the pot calling the kettle black. To all practical intents and purposes, the two Klans are essentially one.

## The Situation in Alsace and Lorraine

WILLIAM H. SCHEIFLEY, PH.D.

**B**Y his ministerial declaration of June regarding the introduction of secular legislation into Alsace and Lorraine, the French Premier has stirred those provinces to the depths. Even his radical partisans now realize the folly of the provocation. But having just forced President Millerand out of office, the over-confident radicals presumed to govern with a high hand.

In this matter M. Herriot apparently followed the advice of the two Socialist deputies from the recovered provinces, without deigning to consult the other twenty-two. And yet the others, elected last May by the National Coalition, all oppose the measures in question. More

than that, as M. Herriot well knew, the radical program, if carried out, would be a flagrant violation of the pledges given in 1918 by Marshal Joffre, Premier Clémenceau and President Poincaré. For did not those authorized spokesmen of France solemnly guarantee to Alsace and Lorraine their privileges and institutions? Indeed that is why the Alsatians waived the right of referendum at the congress of Versailles.

True, for the moment the two "disannexed" peoples were largely guided by their emotions. Their outburst of sentimental joy in the days following the Armistice beguiled their sober judgment. In becoming once more

a part of France, they fondly hoped to enjoy new liberties. But on the contrary, the radical Ministry would deprive them of cherished school and church privileges which even Germany respected.

Elementary reasons of gratitude should have dictated to the Paris Government a very different policy toward the regained provinces. For it was chiefly their industrious, church-loving citizens who, after 1871, kept alive the French cause. And since the late war the Catholic clergy have been among its most ardent promoters.

The conflict is double. On the one hand it involves the relations between Church and State; on the other the question of confessional schools. In short, to gratify the radicals and the Socialists, M. Herriot would break relations with Rome, despoil the Church of its property in Alsace and Lorraine, deprive the clergy of State support, and expel the religious Orders, measures odious to millions of Frenchmen. At the same time he purposes to abolish confessional schools and to forbid the teaching of religion in the public schools.

As might have been expected, the proposed legislation is condemned by the various creeds. To be sure, it would not affect all alike. But the Catholics, who decidedly predominate, naturally reject the entire program. They have not forgotten what happened in France after the Combes legislation. As for the Protestants, a distinction should be made between Calvinists and Lutherans. The Calvinists, like the Catholics, regard the Concordat and the confessional school as equally vital. The Lutherans, who are in better financial circumstances than the other Christians, might accept the separation of Church and State, since the arrangement would make them independent of the State. But they cherish their confessional schools not less than do the Catholics and the Calvinists. On the contrary, the Jews would welcome "neutral" schools, though they value the Concordat. Grand Rabbi Schwartz of Strasbourg has clearly stated that no religious leader could desire secular legislation in Alsace and Lorraine.

Far more emphatic is the attitude of the Protestants. Their declaration to the French Premier describes the consternation among their brethren and expresses their regret that he so rashly and unexpectedly raised the vexing questions. After alluding to the resolute stand of the Catholics, they affirm that to them as to others, religion is the most precious privilege in life. Hence their determination to preserve their worship in the communities and to assure for their children religious instruction in the schools.

The protest expresses horror of the lay legislation applied in France in 1882 and 1905. "With its well-known aggressive hostility, the State would now eliminate religion from *our* schools also, depriving them of aid spiritual and material." Adopting a view long held by French Catholics, the Protestants challenge the right of the State to impose upon children its conception of educa-

tion. The palpitant declaration ends with the assurance that, if the issue be forced upon them, the Protestants will resist with every weapon at their disposal.

Such, briefly, are the manifestations by the Protestants and the Jews. But as a rule they are expressed only in print. The Catholics have gone farther, backing up their declarations with huge mass meetings in the principal cities. This action was made possible by virtue of their excellent organizations, such as the Catholic League, the Federation of Catholic Clubs, and the Confederation of Intellectual Catholics, with hundreds of branches, largely dating from their victorious *Kulturkampf* with Bismarck.

The movement is directed by Monseigneur Ruch, Bishop of Strasbourg, a prelate sagacious but firm. He has launched a campaign intended to enlighten the people regarding their rights and duties in the crisis. The speakers include, besides the clergy, jurists, members of Parliament, and eminent patriots. Owing to the attention that the struggle attracts in the remainder of France, the entire country is eagerly following developments. Monseigneur Ruch has received from the French clergy a flood of encouraging messages.

The venerable Bishop wisely urges a dispassionate procedure. The radicals shall not decry the Catholics as enemies of the Republic, nor as agents of Germany. At nearly every gathering the *Marseillaise* is sung, and after the monster meetings in Strasbourg, for example, those in attendance usually file by the statue of Kléber. The banners carried in the processions bear such inscriptions as "We Reject Schools Without God!" "We Want Our Congregations!" "Hurrah for the Pope!" "Down with Freemasonry!" "Long Live France!" But while the Catholics pledge to their country loyalty and devotion, its authority should not go beyond that of a mother over her children; it must respect their faith. Michel Walter, leader in Parliament of the Alsatian Catholics, has exposed the inconsistency of the radicals. While these constantly demand the right of the majority to rule, they would, as already stated, let two deputies from the recovered provinces dictate to their twenty-two colleagues. Moreover, 112 municipal councils of Alsace and Lorraine have expressed their sentiments regarding the present conflict, 108 of them condemning the radical program. True, consistency is not the radicals' ruling passion. For, according to Paul Bureau, are they not again expelling from France charitable nuns, while granting to 500,000 prostitutes large toleration?

Owing to this discrimination, the Alsations and Lorrainers demand a popular referendum on the matters in dispute. Quite properly they point out the undemocratic character of the radical view in the school question. For if religious instruction should be abolished in the public schools, the rich could send their children to private institutions, which the poor could not afford to patronize.

Nor do the Catholics harbor any illusions about the Separation law. As applied in France it was not only



a confiscation and a violation of the will of the dead; it was abominable vandalism. Consequently scores of venerable French churches with disintegrating vaults and crumbling steeples are going to ruin. The funds for the restoration of historic monuments are insufficient to save even the most magnificent structures. What, then, must be the fate of the thousands of churches which cannot win the favor of official archeologists?

How unwise of the Herriot Ministry to create this grave conflict! Thanks to the conciliatory policy of its immediate predecessors, the assimilation of the two provinces was progressing splendidly. The situation demanded maintenance of the *status quo* until a satisfactory solution could be worked out. And to accomplish this was clearly the intention of the Poincaré Ministry in appointing Abbé Wetterlé, an Alsatian, as counselor of the French embassy at the Vatican. Since the Vatican had just sanctioned the French law establishing diocese associations, the moment seemed auspicious for adjusting the difficulties in Alsace and Lorraine.

Had the French Government but proceeded in a broad-minded spirit, the two provinces would likely have accepted a "free Church in a free State." Unhappily the radicals, by their stupid threats, have undone the achieve-

ments of years. For the first time since the late war the Government has broken the "sacred truce" and caused internal strife. Thus in the light of the present crisis, Alsace and Lorraine realize the necessity of better guarantees than those offered by the *status quo*. Certainly they will reject with scorn a separation like that carried out in France. Says the eminent Belgian critic Dumont-Wilden, who recently visited the provinces: "*Si l'on se risquait à renouveler dans ce pays le coup des inventaires, on irait à un désastre.*"

Nor will an agreement in the school question prove less difficult to reach. Among the solutions offered, two should impress foreigners as seeming reasonable. Michel Walter would arrange, along with the moral education for the children of non-believers, religious instruction for the others, both to be given at the same time. Somewhat similarly, Louis Dumont-Wilden suggests that the schools be fused into interconfessional ones, with provision for religious instruction during vacant periods.

If M. Herriot is wise, he will not again provoke the sturdy Alsatians, who braved even the "Iron Chancellor." As for the other province, from it has gone forth a warning: "When Lorraine protests with vibration, it is time for the Government to give heed."

## The Lesson of the Nestorians

J. C. WALSH

**S**WEET, they tell us, are the uses of adversity, and no doubt there is a certain disciplinary value in the attacks that are being made upon American Catholics as Catholics. It is useful, however, to distinguish. If the argument is confined to the question which religion is to be preferred, we can go along with a reasonably comfortable assurance that the count will turn out to be in our favor; but where the attack becomes political, and that is the present position, all the lessons of history give ample warrant for concern. The essence of political action against religious belief is the exercise of coercive power, and coercion ranges all the way from discrimination in business and social relations, through the field of repressive legislation, to actual violence. Meekness in long suffering is one form of answer, but it would be rash to assume that it is at all times sufficient. Humanity has never shrunk from oppression as a means to securing political ends, and neither have the oppressors ever lacked what was to them a justifying motive. The victim, it is true, is always left his right to protest and the right to explain disaster, but this being left with these rights does not invariably recompense him for the attendant losses.

During the past summer my correspondence has brought into view an example of what may happen when political coercion for the repression of religious belief is

logically applied. The field is so remote that the incidence can be studied without any of those qualifications which crop up where the fate of parties and the tenure of offices tend to produce a certain blurring of the mirror.

In the months of February, March and April of this year, 1924, all the Christians who remained in Southern Turkey were cleared out. True, certain guarantees had been given in their regard by the Treaty of Lausanne; but that did not prevent the confiscation of their property, the sacrifice of their effects, exile from their homes, and their deportation to Syria and Irak. Churches were taken for munition storehouses, episcopal residences for barracks, dependent buildings for public women. Dioceses founded in the fourth and fifth centuries just ceased to exist. And so far as I know nothing has appeared about it in any newspaper.

The origin of the trouble dates a long way back. The Church in Asia Minor spread eastward from Antioch, and in the early centuries encountered considerable opposition from the civil authorities. But by the time the Emperor Constantine was converted to Christianity it was possible for him to write to the Persian King a letter of felicitation, so good was the treatment the Christians had received. Twenty years later, the Persians renewed the war against Rome, and the King, needing money, demanded a

double head tax and a double tribute from all the Nazarenes. Not getting it, he accused them of taking their leisure while he bore the brunt of war, and added: "They inhabit our land and partake of the sentiments of Caesar, our enemy." He struck his hands violently one against the other, saying: "Simon would excite his people to rebellion against my Empire; he wants to make us slaves of Caesar, his coreligionist." Not so very different from what we hear and read today. The King, however, was direct in his methods. He ordered a general persecution of the Christians, which lasted from A. D. 340 to 379, of whose victims the names of 16,000 were at one time known.

It seems to have been true of these early Christians, as it was true of the Catholics in Ireland under similar conditions centuries later, that they did look with longing eyes towards those who were the enemies of their oppressors. Regarded at home as a caste made for servitude, to which their people had been condemned for centuries by one conquering dynasty after another, these Nazarenes thought they might be better off under the protection of the Cross, backed by the invincible legions of Rome, just as the Irish, unable to keep up with the conflicts between York and Lancaster, Stuart and Orange, cast longing eyes towards Spain at one time and France at another. And we may well suppose that Imperial Rome valued such a focus of friendly influence, just as, let us say, England has valued a similar focus in the northeast corner of Ireland.

This situation was changed by the coming of Nestorius. After his heresy was condemned by the Church, his friends in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates rallied to his support. One of them said to the King: "Give me soldiers and I will make all the Christians Nestorians; they will hate the Romans and the Romans will detest them." So it turned out. The Nestorians had their way in the Persian Empire, and for a thousand years they were actively hostile to everything Roman. While the Persian Empire lasted, they had to withstand the anger of the powerful fire-worshippers, but they made headway. When the Arabs came into power, the Nestorian Christians were protected and even honored. They had high places at the Court, and they taught their masters the philosophy of the West. In the libraries which had to be broken up a few months ago, there were transcriptions of the Gospels of which the most recent was of the thirteenth century. How much was saved of these treasures I have not learned. By 1288, in which year the Nestorian Katholikos, born in China, sent an embassy to Pope Nicholas IV, seeking an alliance between Franks and Mongols against Islam, the Nestorian Church counted twenty-five Metropolitan districts, a hundred dioceses, many millions of adherents, and outposts in farther Persia, India and China. In Turkestan the tribes were Christian under Christian princes. The Crusades had come and gone and the Nestorians had not suffered. But

now they were to be ground in the mills of statecraft. They sided against the Arabs and made friends with the Mongols, the new conquerors, doubtless on much the same reasoning as in the case of the Romans 800 years before, since the Mongols were seeking a Christian alliance. Only this time the Mongols changed their mind and adopted Mahomet as their prophet, Christian Europe became the enemy of united Islam, and the Nestorian Christians were again identified with that enemy. They paid the penalty. By the time Columbus sailed, there were none left south of Bagdad. Sixty years later, there were left but one metropolitan and three bishops, and the bishops gave in their allegiance to the Holy See, which appointed, as first Patriarch of the Chaldeans, the Abbot of a monastery where even today there are monks who follow the rule of the first St. Anthony.

Even that, however, was not the end. What may prove to be the death blow was administered during the war, 1915-1918. For centuries a handful of Nestorians had inhabited an upland district on the borders of Kurdistan in the vilayet of Hakkari. They had a semi-tribal, semi-seignorial system, of which the Patriarch was the civil and military as well as the religious head. They trained their children in the use of arms against the destroying visits of the Kurds, their nearest neighbors. They could call out 10,000 rifles in a day, five times that many in two. They maintained good relations with Constantinople. Then, when Turkey went to war, they were caught in the same old trap. The Nestorians had agreed to help their friends, this time the Russians. The Russians were to come to their aid, but Enver Pasha got there first. The people left their mountain home, which is now the abode of wild beasts, fought their way over into Persia, and 70,000 perished. The rest escaped to the south and west. The Patriarch, Mar-Shimoun, a warrior bishop, was treacherously slain after a peace conference. A boy of fourteen carries on the tradition. He is at Mosul. If the Turks make good their claim to that vilayet, either by League of Nations arbitration or by direct action, not only what are left of the Nestorians but the Catholics as well will be driven out as were their fellows from other areas last spring. The venerable Catholic Patriarch, he is seventy-four, at Mosul, managed to avoid some of the pitfalls during the war. He did not, like Mar-Shimoun, back the wrong horse, because he wisely did not go in for backing horses at all. But if the Turks come to Mosul his wisdom will not save him, for what is wisdom against logic applied with violence? The Gospel he preaches is the one we hear in our Churches, the ritual he uses is in the tongue spoken by the Saviour. But when religion runs foul of statecraft it is possible for a church to be shaken to the foundations, for the pillars to be broken, for the walls to crumble, for the worshipers to vanish.

It is not quite as bad as that with us, but it is worth reflection when such things do happen, in our day, within the Universal Church. The lesson is, no doubt, that in-



difference to attack has its dangers, that it may be wise to resist beginnings, and, perhaps above all, that a little of the wisdom of the serpent will not be amiss when formulating plans for defense. Sometimes it seems that playing the other fellow's game is one of the best things we do.

### COMMUNICATIONS

*The editors are not responsible for opinions expressed in this department.*

#### A Word of Gratitude

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Would you kindly convey to your readers our gratitude for their kindness in remembering and their generosity in assisting our little orphan children, our blind and aged poor, here in the Holy City, and tell them that prayers are daily said after Mass by our family of nearly 400 for all our benefactors.

Jerusalem, Palestine

SISTER AGNES,  
Hospice of St. Vincent.

#### Anthony Wayne of Irish Stock

To the Editor of AMERICA:

In the article in the issue of AMERICA for October 4, "Taking the Anglo Saxon Seriously," appears the following: "Or the Dutchman Anthony Wayne." Anthony Wayne was a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia in which active membership was limited to natives of Ireland or to their descendants in the first degree. Wayne's father is buried in Old St. David's Churchyard, Radnor, Pennsylvania, as is General Wayne, and on the father's tombstone is stated that he was a "Native of the County of Wicklow in the Kingdom of Ireland." The inscription was graven more than a century ago, and General Wayne became a member of the Friendly Sons nearly one hundred and fifty years ago. He may have been a Dutchman, but we have waited a long time for the discovery. Certainly General Wayne did not know it when he became one of the Friendly Sons. Philadelphia.

MICHAEL J. RYAN.

#### The Klan and the Candidates

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Of the highest importance to the perpetuation of our democracy is it that voters clearly understand how the respective candidates stand on major issues. It is of course common practise for candidates or their adherents to attempt to befuddle issues, to straddle certain important questions and to endeavor thereby to secure the votes of both sides on controversial matters.

Thus representations of each candidate's stand in a light favorable and attractive to persons or groups whose support is solicited are constantly being made, if not with the direct sanction of the candidates, at least under the auspices of the party managements.

In order that there be no misapprehension on the all-important issue of the Ku Klux Klan, and the fundamental issue of democracy involved, the position of the candidates on this matter is here set forth:

1. Calvin Coolidge, Republican candidate—President Coolidge has been persistently silent on the Klan despite repeated requests for statements from a variety of sources. He has, however, given his complete approval to Klan-supported Republican candidates in various States.

2. John W. Davis, Democratic candidate.—John W. Davis made the following statement on August 22, two weeks after Senator La Follette had made his position clear. Davis's reference to the Klan at Sea Girt, New Jersey, on August 22, was as follows:

If any organization, no matter what it chooses to be called, whether Ku Klux Klan or any other name, raises the standard of racial and religious prejudice or attempts to make racial origins or religious beliefs the test of fitness for public office,

it does violence to the spirit of American institutions and must be condemned by all those who believe as I do in American ideals.

3. Robert M. La Follette, Independent-Progressive candidate.—Senator La Follette, on August 5, 1924, wrote Robert P. Scripps, and made public on August 8, a letter in which he said:

I am unalterably opposed to the evident purposes of the secret organization known as the Ku Klux Klan, as disclosed by its public acts. It cannot long survive.

Relying upon the sound judgment and good sense of our people, it is my opinion that such a movement is foredoomed. It has within its own body the seeds of its death.

These attitudes scarcely need interpreting.

Coolidge is silent.

Davis is equivocal, the "if" judiciously opening his declaration, inserting a certain ambiguity in his statement to permit those who find need for hedging in this issue to do so.

La Follette is outspoken in his condemnation of the Klan.

Further illumination, however, on the attitude of the three candidates is shed by the position of the Klan itself. The Imperial Wizard of the Klan, Dr. Hiram W. Evans, in a formal statement through the Klan paper, the *Fellowship Forum*, said:

There are two great American political parties—the Republican and Democratic parties. These two great parties, in solemn convention this year, adopted platforms which provide a home in either party for the conscientious Klansman thereof.

In another article in the *Fellowship Forum* of the same date, headed "Klan O. K.'s Both Major Candidates," Evans bitterly assailed La Follette as the Klan's enemy. The article follows:

Declaring that both Coolidge and Davis are "nationals and Americans" and "aids of the Klan in the attempt to Americanize America," Dr. Hiram W. Evans, Imperial Wizard of the Klan, in an address here (Huntington, W. Va.) last week before hundreds of Klansmen gathered for the State konklave of West Virginia, stated that the Klan would remain neutral in regard to the candidacies of these two men, and would take no part in the political struggle for either's election.

"The Klan will, however," he said, "bend every effort to defeat the candidacy of Robert M. La Follette, third party contestant for the presidency."

Evans' endorsement of Davis within a fortnight of the latter's statement of his position indicates that Klansmen did not interpret it as launched in any way against them or their activities. Rather they interpreted his references to "racial or religious prejudice" as being directed against the Catholic Church and the racial groups which the Klan seeks to drive out or subjugate.

Davis's remarks on these points were printed in black type by the *Fellowship Forum* as conveying a special, cryptic message to the Klan.

Of the three candidates, Coolidge is favored by space in the *Forum's* news columns, while La Follette is the only person editorially attacked.

The *Fellowship Forum* on September 6 attacked the Catholic weekly AMERICA for stating things favorable to La Follette. Excerpts from the editorial follow:

In the opinion of AMERICA La Follette is "admirable." Is it not a fact that in almost all countries where the church is not the magistrate, every faction and every factious marplot is "admirable" because the fomenters of sedition and the creators of disorder enable grist to be carried to the church's mill?

The political morality of the church is not quite as rigid as its theological doctrine. If the church can Balkanize the politics of a nation, it can seize its mind. The church always wears in public politics the mask of the public interest to hide its own purpose. What that purpose may be, in its evident support of La Follette, aside from psychological affinity with sabotage, is the privilege of all who can see beyond a *prima facie* case to a subterranean motive.

These are the facts about the Klan and the three candidates. Summed up, they are that only one of three candidates both opposes and is opposed by the Klan—Robert M. La Follette.

Washington.

J. R.

## AMERICA

A - CATHOLIC - REVIEW - OF - THE - WEEK

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1924

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## The "Admirable" La Follette

ON another page a correspondent sets forth at some length what he conceives to be the judgment of the Ku Klux Klan on President Coolidge and on the President's opponents in the present campaign. The communication will speak for itself. Its author has decided views, for which he can quote verse and chapter, but they are neither approved nor condemned by this Review. They are submitted in the belief that the intelligent reader will assess for himself their value, and their bearing upon the coming election.

At the same time, AMERICA makes no secret of its editorial attitude toward the Ku Klux Klan. Any association which discriminates against American citizens because of their ancestry, color, or religious tenets has no legitimate place among a people whose government is "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." When an association of this nature affects to cloak its deeds of darkness with the white robe of purity and patriotism, it becomes a menace to the peace and order of established government. We have with us in this country all sorts and conditions of men. We differ in racial stock, in color, in creed. If we are to continue as a stable social and political organism, we must cultivate the spirit of tolerance and work towards ideals of mutual appreciation and of charity. Otherwise we shall see our country a camp of warring mobs, with every man ready to spring at his fellow's throat.

Whatever, then, tends to lessen tolerance and to stir up faction, deserves the whole-hearted condemnation of every American citizen, be his color, his ancestry, his political affiliation, or his religion, what it may. It was the opinion of this Review that when the two great parties failed to condemn the Klan, they lost an opportunity of helping to suppress an intolerance which has put an end to American ideals in government wherever it has be-

come dominant. But even in this issue AMERICA has never aligned itself with any political party, for the issue is not partisan, nor should it be so designated. It is beyond and above all partisan lines and purposes. "As for the Klan" said Governor Smith, in his speech to cheering thousands at Boston, "the Catholic can stand it. The Jew can stand it. So can the Negro. But the American Government cannot stand it." In a few words the Governor summed up the case. The choice must be made between the ideals of the Klan and the ideals of the Constitution. We may have one or the other. We cannot have both.

Finally, this Review has never expressed the opinion that Senator La Follette is "admirable," admirable as his prompt and unmistakable repudiation of the Klan assuredly was. Possibly what the editor of the Ku Klux journal, cited by our correspondent, had in mind, is a sentence found in a contributed article, published in AMERICA for August 23, "With admirable sagacity, Senator La Follette was the first to occupy the field," that is, with a condemnation of the Klan. As is obvious, this in no sense justifies the statement "In the opinion of AMERICA, La Follette is admirable." We have no axe to grind for Senator La Follette or for any other candidate. All will be judged in these pages by their admitted acts, aims and principles, and only then to the extent that these may have some religious, moral or ethical implication. The critical reader will form his own conclusions.

## Who Pays the Bill?

WHEN Mr. John Brown goes into a shop to acquire a pair of shoes, he is well aware that he will be asked to pay for them. If he travels home by subway he knows that he cannot even enter the station until he has dropped a nickel in the slot. It is the first of the month, and arriving home he finds that his mail is a sheaf of bills payable. He will probably groan and complain, but in the end he will pay. He is old enough to know that for what we get in this world, we must pay.

But an exception must be noted. If Mr. Brown is like millions of his fellow-citizens, he thinks that what the Government "gives" costs nothing. He pays for food, clothing, light, heat, rent, and the other necessities of life, but what is provided by the Government he classifies as a gift. Out of this error springs the delusion that the so-called "fifty-fifty" plan on which the Sterling-Reed Federal education bill is based at once cuts the expenses of the local school in half and raises the teachers' salaries. To the same source may be traced the other delusion, that as soon as the railroads are owned by the Government, a journey by railway will cost little or nothing. Both delusions are extraordinarily common.

If the Government ever acquires the railways, it will not be by way of gift. The present owners will demand reimbursement. Nor, under Government operation, will the engineers, the firemen and the rest of the crew, donate



their services. Mr. John Brown and his fellows do not realize that when the Government opens a school, builds a road or a battleship, equips a regiment, or authorizes a new bureau or department, someone must bear the expense. Least of all does he realize that part of this expense must be borne by him. It ought to be plain that this Government of ours has no money except the money taken directly or indirectly from the people. In other words, when the Government receives a bill, the Government passes it on to the people. They pay. In 1923, the costs of Government were more than ten billion dollars, a sum equal to approximately fifteen per cent of the total income of the country. Expenditures were five and one-half times greater than in 1890, and three and one-half times greater than in 1902.

Whether or not every expenditure was wisely and honestly made, is beside the point; in any case, the burden rests upon the people. But before we adopt more legislation to give effect to the many plans which Federal, State, and city governments are projecting, it will be well to inquire into the cost. Even a country as rich as the United States has its financial limits, and we seem to be approaching them. When Government action is necessary, the people will cheerfully pay the bill. But necessary or not, the people pay. A keener realization of this truth would cut off a mass of legislation almost annually approved at Washington and the State capitals.

#### Religion and More Laws

IN his address at the unveiling in Washington of the monument to Francis Asbury, a pioneer bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, President Coolidge again utilized his opportunity to stress a truth which the founders of this Republic held to be of vital importance. The views of Washington, and of his associates, concerning the dependence of good government upon religion and upon reverence for moral standards founded upon religion, are well known to the historian. But they cannot be too often repeated. They spring from principles which a generation trained in an atmosphere of indifference to religion and morality is forgetting.

Today it would appear evident to large groups of men that all evils, economic, social or moral, can be removed by legislative enactment, or by a series of such enactments, each of which gives force to its predecessor. Granted that these enactments expressed the will and intelligent purpose of the major part of the community, the end sought might be reached. Often, however, they are measures neither intelligently conceived, nor adopted by the will of a well-informed majority. They exist primarily because of pressure applied by powerful minorities.

Law is a dictate of reason promulgated by competent authority for the common good. Except in outward form, many modern legislative acts designed to aid in the attainment of a social or moral reform, do not fulfil the defini-

tion of law. They express sentiment rather than right reason, are ill-adapted to the purpose in view, and, when extorted by organized minorities, can hardly be said to be promulgated by competent authority. Lilly, the English philosopher, once said that at no time in the world's history had England had more laws and less law. Considering the American propensity, powerful and freely-indulged, to adopt new "laws," the criticism may be more properly applied to us who, unlike the English, have not one Parliament, but forty-nine State and Federal legislatures.

#### The President's Truisms

DEVELOPING his theme, the President dwelt upon "the necessity of reliance upon religion rather than upon laws." Almost paraphrasing the words of Washington in the Farewell Address, he observed that the sanctions of government ultimately rest upon religion. From religion is derived "reverence for truth, for justice, and for the rights of men. Unless the people believe in these principles, they cannot believe in our Government."

Law has its proper function in government. It must coerce all who deliberately refuse to be guided by the dictates of justice and charity. Yet no deep-rooted evils are suppressed, no lasting reforms instituted, through law alone. Unless the spirit of reverence for religion and morality is widely diffused among the people, even the wisest legislative ordinances must fail.

We can help to restrain the vicious and furnish a fair degree of security and protection by legislation and police control. But the real reforms which society is seeking will come as a result of our religious convictions, or they will not come at all.

Peace, justice, humanity, charity—these cannot be legislated into being. An act of Congress may indicate that a reform is in progress, or has been accomplished. But it does not of itself bring about reform.

The President will be accused by smart paragraphs of taking refuge in truisms. Trite, in a certain sense, his remarks were. Yet in that sense too the Ten Commandments and the natural law enjoining the doing of what is good and the avoidance of all that is evil, are also trite. But applying his words to the activities of modern legislators and lobbyists, they will be seen to contain a wisdom which these gentry spurn, not because it is trite but because they believe it false. It is common for legislatures to enact a law and then to ascertain whether or not it is necessary. Executives in turn, enforce or fail to enforce it, as organized public opinion may demand.

#### The New Revolution

THE same theme was developed by President Butler of Columbia in an address before the National Institute of Arts and Sciences on October 14. In President Butler's opinion, a new American revolution, unmistakable in its endeavor to effect the absorption by the civil power, especially by the Federal Government, of rights

and duties which belong to the people and to the States, is now in progress. Certainly, nothing more foreign to the political ideals of the men who founded this Republic can be conceived. They held and proclaimed that all men possessed certain inalienable rights with which no Government might interfere. So jealous were they of possible curtailment of those rights, that in providing a fundamental law for the whole country, they decreed a Constitution which reserved to the people all powers not specifically granted to the Federal Government, and a working plan which placed man's inalienable rights beyond the control even of a majority of the people in the respective States.

Departing from these views, we have gradually formed the habit of "looking to the national capital" instead of vigorously applying ourselves to the performance of tasks which belong to the local communities. A national need must be met, it is true, by national action. But national action is not synonymous with action by Congress. If the schools of the country are not as good as they should be, the "national action" called for is not a bill in Congress, the Sterling-Reed bill, for instance, but action in every State and municipality. In this matter, it is not the

duty of the people to transfer the powers which are rightfully theirs to the central Government but to use them. Today, however, we have reached a stage in which it is seriously proposed that when any State shall fail to perform its functions to the satisfaction of Congress, Congress may assume these functions on the ground that the Federal Government is authorized to act "for the general welfare." If this be allowed, the doctrine of reserved and delegated rights, upon which the Constitution rests, must be abandoned, and the centralized Government at Washington becomes omnipotent. Congress, assuredly, may act for the general welfare, but only in the manner and for the purposes prescribed by the Constitution. Any other interpretation destroys our constitutional dual form of government.

More than any other group of American citizens should Catholics oppose this new revolution. We are a minority. Under a written Constitution, faithfully interpreted, our rights as a minority are secure. Under the new revolutionary Government, controlled now by political majorities and now by organized minorities, there will be nothing to which we can appeal when our enemies gather to close our schools and to extinguish the lights in the sanctuary.

## Literature

### Chatterton—A Super-Intellectual

WHAT a case for the psychologist was Chatterton; Thomas Chatterton whose "young-eyed poesy was deftly masked as hoar antiquity"; the wonderful Chatterton who sang his boyish songs in the language of a forgotten age with notes so true, so clear, that even the learned were for a time deceived by the strains; Chatterton, who though his fraud was detected, yet because of his originality, at the unripe age of seventeen had already won a place in the foremost rank in English letters. A study indeed for the psychologist!

Of recent months the word "super-intellectual" has acquired an ill connotation. In every-day thought it has come to mean all that is abnormal, eccentric, revoltingly ruthless in the way of morals among those who have or claim to have a marked superiority of intellect. A super-intellectual is supposed to be like one of Nietzsche's supermen, as far above the common run of mankind as the average person is above the brute.

As a matter of fact, though, the super-intellectual signifies nothing more than precocious. Precocity according to mental experts is an abnormal or premature intellectual development attained at a tender age. The usual marks of this phenomenon are a brilliant imagination, constructive talent of a high order, and rare artistic genius. At the same time, say the authorities, precocity does not ordinarily extend to judgment, reason and sagacity.

All these marks both good and evil were clearly stamped

on the boy Chatterton. The unusual character of his imagination was manifest in his youthful attempt to deceive eminent critics by palming off the children of his own fancy as a heritage of the Middle Ages. His constructive talent is markedly evident in the songs themselves; while no one who has even casually noted the consummate taste displayed in the nature pictures of his "Excelente Balade of Charitie" can deny him artistic genius.

It is equally certain that his wonderful precocity did not extend to judgment, reason and sagacity. A youth who would leave home penniless and go up to London confidently expecting to win his literary fame and fortune in a trice, whereas other brilliant men had accomplished the feat only after long heart-breaking years, was undoubtedly lacking in judgment. Again, of all the unreasonable things a person can do, the most unreasonable is to imagine he can put an end to his miseries by suicide. Hence if Chatterton thought to allay the pangs of poverty by self-slaughter he revealed not only a low conception of morality but a woful lack of sound reason. Finally, if he manifested no little astuteness in securing an introduction to and a promise of patronage from the great Lord Mayor Beckford, he evinced an equal want of sagacity when he selected a scholar like Walpole on whom to foist his pseudo-antiques. Had he not alienated Walpole by his injudiciousness he might well have spared himself the sufferings which his proud nature permitted to



culminate in suicide. No, Chatterton like the average super-intellectual, did not possess mature judgment, nor sound reason, nor keen sagacity.

It is in no wise derogatory to his reputation to declare that all of what he wrote is not inspired. In this he is at one with other bards. His fame rests chiefly on the so-called "Rowley Poems" which consisted of dramas, epic fragments and dramatic lyrics supposedly written in the Middle Ages by a monk named Rowley, and transcribed from the ancient manuscripts by Chatterton. Among these "Bristowe Tragedie," composed in the quaint ballad style, stands easily pre-eminent.

Young Chatterton had turned to "hack" writing after coming to London, as he found it increased his scanty income. But practically all that work has been lost to us now, and there remains but a handful of poems on which to arrive at a judgment as to the quality of his genius. Chatterton's claim to a position in literature is chiefly based on his "Excelente Balade of Charitie," written with haste in the gloom of his garret while he was almost in the throes of his last struggle with poverty and despair. This work is in the archaic style of the "Rowley Poems," and all the muses were at his elbow when he wrote it. The spirit of the poem is so utterly at variance with the environment in which it was written that this one bit of literature will always remain the most striking evidence of Chatterton's precocity. It is a masterpiece of workmanship and carries a moral lesson that strikes home, for it sketches in bold outline the opposite characters of two priests, the one false, the other true to his high calling. This single poem, like Thompson's "Hound of Heaven," is sufficient to crown its author with immortality.

When dealing with Chatterton we are reminded of those other youthful bards, Collins, Burns, Keats and Shelley, all of whom were snatched to eternity when their genius had only begun to flower. Yet Chatterton in a way far outshines them all. The youngest, Keats, had passed his twenty-fifth birthday when death came, while Chatterton died eight years his junior. Considering what fame the others won and the heights Chatterton had already reached while so much younger, it is not strange that many hold the youth would one day have eclipsed great Shakespeare.

Still, there is grave reason to doubt this. It is noteworthy that the only good work of the youthful poet which survives is his objective, purely impersonal work. He had not yet begun to pour out his soul in lyrics; they would have come later. According to sound critics, his precociousness of intellect was accompanied almost in the same ratio with lack of moral principle: an utter disregard for the truth of what he said or wrote, or for the reputation of others and above all by the pride of Lucifer. "It is my pride, my—native, unconquerable pride," he says himself, "that plunges me into distraction. You must know that nineteen-twentieths of my composition is pride."

With so many evil traits highly developed in one still unfledged, we are doubtful as to the character of his future contributions to literature had he lived. Perhaps he would have produced another "Hamlet"; but more probably a "Queen Mab," a "Don Juan" or worse.

Moreover, the psychologists tell us that great precocity is usually an indication of cerebral disease; and young Chatterton was most extraordinarily precocious! Such intense activity of the entire system is called forth by precocity that it most frequently results in premature decay and death. There are a few notable exceptions to this rule, such as Thomas of Aquinas, Pope, Davy and De Quincey, but the usual outcome is mental feebleness, or at least the reduction of what promised to be transcendent genius into commonplace mediocrity. Whether Chatterton's over-development of intellect had brought on moral atrophy, or whether he was already insane as the coroner's jury declared after his suicide, it may be gravely doubted if one, who had matured at so early an age as he, could have escaped the common fate of his type and become a world genius.

After all it is vain to conjecture as to what might have been. Hazlitt looking back from a distant age may have entirely misinterpreted Chatterton's intentions, but we find ourselves half agreeing with his statement: "Chatterton did not show extraordinary powers of genius, but extraordinary precocity. Nor do I believe he would have written better had he lived. He knew this himself, or he would have lived. He had done his best; and like another Empedocles threw himself into Aetna to insure immortality."

JAMES F. KEARNEY, S.J.

#### SUPERANNUATION

Dear, you are old.  
You sit and rock in your armchair,  
While in your withered hands you hold  
A paper whereon bold  
Headlines shriek out the news. "Well, I declare,"  
You say, "'Twas not like this  
When I was young." And then  
Your head begins to nod.

We say, "The dear! She lives on memory,  
And finds a feeble sort of bliss  
In walking once again  
The fancied paths her feet in their youth trod."  
Then we, in youthful way half-pitying,  
Run off to play and leave you sitting there.

We have no need of you, it seems,  
You and your old, tired dreams.  
Yet, strangely, always do we bring  
Our broken dreams to you.  
And then you lay those toil-worn hands upon our heads,  
Tender as is a mother-bird who spreads  
Her wings to shield her young, while through  
Your dim eyes love speaks understanding—  
The world indeed moves on, but youth and age remain.  
Progress, can it ever bring  
Anything more than wise old love to pain?

SISTER M. ELEANORE, C.S.C.

## REVIEWS

**The Life and Work of Mary Aikenhead.** By a Member of the Congregation of the Irish Sisters of Charity. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. \$5.00.

As the title states, this volume is not only the story of the foundress of the Irish Sisters of Charity but is, likewise, a record of the lives and virtues of the other saintly women who allied themselves with her in her heroic undertaking. Before her death, July 22, 1858, forty-three years from the date of the humble beginning in Dublin, Mary Aikenhead saw flourishing fifteen establishments of her Congregation. Today, the parent Congregation in Ireland and England along with the offspring Congregation in Australia numbers a grand total of fifty-eight foundations. It was truly a wonderful work and approves Mary Aikenhead as the chosen instrument of the Good Master for the spread of His Divine mission of charity among the poor. "The blind see, the sick walk, the poor have the gospel preached to them." It was a shy and retiring girl, whom, in His usual way of selecting apparently weak instruments for His mighty work, Christ appointed to take charge of His new enterprise; but she possessed originally a shrewd business sense and managerial ability, her soul was rich in seeds of virtue that prospered into lovely flower under the rain of grace from Heaven, and her natural reserve was soon replaced with remarkable courage and daring through her confidence in Divine providence, one of the most distinguishing features of her life. The story is told by a sympathetic pen, mostly from the record of the Rev. Mother's own correspondence and with an abundance of detail of individual sisters' lives that will be especially interesting to members of the Congregation. "*Caritas Dei urget nos*" was the motto of the new Congregation and the strong impulse of charity, which one is aware of even in the account of its work, is very inspiring.

W. T. T.

**Anatole France. The Man and His Work.** By JAMES LEWIS MAY. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. \$3.00.

On October 12, Anatole France Thibault died at the extreme age of eighty years. He has, in this volume just published, a most sympathetic biographer and an enthusiastic critic. Of the innate genius of M. France, of his mastery of words and thoughts, of the power and influence that were his throughout his native land, there can be no doubt. Unfortunately, for him as well as for his opponents, he made of himself what Catholics cannot approve. Although he came of sturdy Catholic parentage and received a home-training and an education that, it seems, should have ensured his fidelity to his faith, he early began to deny and scoff at all that his parents held sacred. He became an implacable anti-clerical, a cultured voluptuary, a satirist of things revered, a sceptic that doubted even of his doubts, a Socialist and eventually a violent theoretical Communist. But in all these roles he was in no way consistent and did not hesitate to deny at the foot of the page what he had boldly asserted at the top. During a full half century, in books and articles, he has been propounding his startling views on life. Most of his novels are stained by a sensualism that he considered beauty; this also tainted many of his short stories as well as his poetry and his works on history and philosophy. M. France was honored by being made a member of the French Academy, and, in 1921, by the award of the Nobel Prize for literature. But Rome, too, passed its opinion upon him and in the autumn of 1922 placed all of his works, without exception, on the Index. Mr. May's volume is frankly a panegyric of "the Master." The earlier chapters sketch in vague outline the incidents of M. France's life; the second part is devoted to a resumé of his writings and is freely illustrated by quotations. As an epilogue, the author gives a pleasant account of an interview with M. France at his home at La Bécherellerie in May of last year.

F. X. T

**History of Political Thought.** By RAYMOND G. GETTELL. New York: The Century Co.

After a careful reading of Professor Gettell's book we feel as the young lady reporter must have felt while writing her savage criticism of the play she had been detailed "to cover." Her kindly and wise editor, requiring her to rewrite her account said: "Honey, review 'em, don't reform 'em." So too, cool reflection enjoins upon us to review, not reform, this book. The subject treated is an important one. The refinement, brilliancy and power of the style is fascinating. Between the metaphysical and ethical systems of Plato and the "study of biology and politics made by Henry J. Ford," a vast multitude of important political beliefs have intervened. Professor Gettell has tried to give an adequate, though short, exposition of them all. His success in many instances is impressive, notably so with the political theories of St. Thomas Aquinas, Bellarmine Suarez and others. In passing, it may be noted that Cardinal Bellarmine was Italian, not, as the writer says, French. The subtle misuse of essential terms, however, such as sovereign and evolution, in widely different meanings without hinting at such change of meaning, makes this book an unsafe and even dangerous treatise to place in the hands of an amateur. The watchful and mature mind may possibly profit by reading it.

M. J. S.

**New Governments of Central Europe.** By MALBONE W. GRAHAM, JR. New York: Henry Holt and Co.

The first sentence of this work states that it is the product of necessity. But necessity is the mother of invention and invention is an exceedingly useful thing. So is this book. When, towards the end of the World War, the old racial groups of Central Europe began to break loose from their ancient moorings they drifted for a while on uncertain seas, until finding safer and freer harbors, they settled down again to ride at pleasant anchor. This great shifting of peoples and their consequent resettlement needed to be told. The present work does this and does it well, limiting itself to their respective political histories. Germany is taken up first, then Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. The narrative is clear and for its purpose exhaustive. The confusion of political parties, so bewildering to the ordinary man, are here clearly set apart, and each receives its particular treatment explanatory of its aims and achievements. A large and very valuable appendix, or rather second part of the work, consists of selected documents referring to crises in the different countries. An asset which makes much for clearness is the time charts which indicate graphically the relative strength of the parties in each State with the turning of the years. The author has not been entirely impartial however and his subjective sympathies peep out from time to time under the running lines. In speaking of the Catholic political groups he is greatly mistaken in seeing always the direct influence of the Vatican. He ought to know too that Prime Minister Seipel though a Catholic priest is not a Jesuit. We hope that this excellent series will be extended to all the countries of Europe.

P. M. D.

**Science Old and New.** By J. ARTHUR THOMPSON, M.A., LL.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

It would seem that the class of fiction known as historical romance must ere long extend its boundaries to admit a fast growing literature whose theme is prehistoric. Its characters are the flora and fauna of past ages, its main plot universal evolution, and its minor plots and actions are particular instances of the operation of adaptation or some other natural influence as contributing to the general tendency. Professor Thompson's present volume may not ineptly be termed a collection of short stories pertaining to this class of historical fiction. They are charmingly written, and built upon an almost bewildering mass of genuine and highly interesting facts. These data are pre-



sented with perfect fairness, enigmas in their co-ordination are not ignored, and a spirit of frank inquiry marks the upbuilding of the narrative of their past and present relationships. That is to say, once the hypothesis of universal evolution has been presupposed as the first principle in every discussion. On this fundamental postulate, however, despite its attractiveness, some of us are still scientific enough to await the first bit of empiric support for a law which is alleged to have governed the entire universe for all time, and yet bases its claim on purely circumstantial evidence. There is, of course, much that is of value in the book; but the mischief traceable to all such literature lies in the ordinary reader's inability to discern where fact ends and speculation begins,—a transition which writers like Professor Thompson, in the sincere conviction of the soundness of their hypothesis, naturally do not feel obliged to indicate at every point. W. H. McC.

**Abbé Pierre.** By JAY WILLIAM HUDSON. New York: D. Appleton and Co.

Gascony, its traditions, songs, customs and beauty are embedded in a quiet love story told by an old Abbé, who gives title to this book. It is a very real picture of a France that is little known, of peasant faith and peasant wisdom that make for happiness if not for learning. Readers are familiar with political France, tourists with the cleverness or gaiety of Paris. Mr. Hudson has written of the Gascons who are so French that they have a language older than French, and believe that France revolves around them. His "Abbé Pierre" is a blend of essay, poem, and romance beautifully executed. In this new edition of Mr. Hudson's delightful book, the illustrations by Edwin Avery Park are finely done. G. C. T.

**Salvaging of American Girlhood.** By ISABEL DAVENPORT. Ph. D. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. \$3.00.

This very well-written book arouses expectations which it does not fulfil. It begins by stating that volumes have been written relative to women wherein tradition, superstition, fantasy, and personal bias are mixed up with anecdote and foisted upon a credulous public in the name of "psychology," that most writers have not "been in a way to secure any real background of knowledge of what has been accomplished by leading authorities in general and child psychology." The reader infers that here at last is a book which will be replete with the information so woefully lacking elsewhere. But what does he find? A description of an isolated experiment with one group of girls whose questions are examined and tabulated with exasperating, mathematical calculation, but without a single answer to any inquiry.

One of the best points of the book is the refutation it furnishes to the Freudian theory of a certain phase of physiological-psychology as the adequate explanation of all the phenomena of human behavior. There is also a very sensible reduction to that secondary place which perversions and vices should hold in education. They are not made the chief topic of discussion, the usual method whenever the subject of sex is treated at all. Moreover an urgent demand is made that in their place should be substituted sound and healthy views of normal living. An admirable boldness is displayed in handling this delicate subject, but it is rather too freely treated by discountenancing any dangers connected with its unfolding, and by eliminating any but the faintest reference to the part which religion should play in safeguarding the instruction to be given to the younger generation. However it is to be hoped that the author, who has here proved that she can write an interesting book, will write another, in which these defects will be remedied, and wherein will be found practical and clear answers to questions such as furnished the inspiration to this volume. Very much the same material which is found here, but treated from a Catholic standpoint, will be found in "The Catholic Home" by Father Alexander. F. J. D.

## BOOKS AND AUTHORS

**The Mind and the Month.**—The *Catholic Mind* for October 22 carries a paper that is full of interesting instruction for all. "The Catholic Church and Art" by the Rev. F. A. Mercer, a reprint from the *Melbourne Tribune*, glances down through the centuries and shows how the Church has ever been the inspirer and the patroness of art in its purest and most lovely conception. From the old Irish monks who wrought so exquisitely in illuminated manuscripts to the magnificent efflorescence of the Renaissance, the grand work for art of devoted sons of the Church is reviewed.—The *Month* for October is not disappointing. Lucid, impartial, scientific as always, Father Thurston exposes a tradition that has lost itself in the twilight of the past. "What is the Dominican Tradition of the Rosary" is a confirmation of the author's former conclusions on this subject. "Spiritual Healing" by James Brodrick points to some miracles that refuse to allow themselves to be authenticated. The "Miscellanea" opens with some very pertinent reflections on the recent appointment of Canon Barnes to the Protestant See of Birmingham.

**Science and Literature.**—The study of heredity in living organisms has been for years past a source of absorbing interest. Because of its very subject therefore "An Introduction to the Study of Heredity" (Holt. \$1.00) by E. W. Macbride, M.A. is attractive. Because of its development it does not lack this quality either. Although the book is clear and scientific, still it is marred by the last chapter, which though it contains something of truth, draws conclusions that are too general and betrays a viewpoint that is materialistic. The last sentence of chapter four shows how much in these matters we have still to learn: "The question as to how the various strains originated is quite unsolved, but we may surmise, in accordance with what we have learnt in the previous chapters, that they have derived their peculiarities from differences in the environment to which their ancestors have been exposed."—Although in his author's note John Drinkwater says that "Patriotism in Literature" (Holt. \$1.00) is an essay on patriotism, not a patriotic anthology, still it can be said to be both and to be both passing well. John Drinkwater here says some original things and casts some interesting reflections. At the same time he offers an amount of poetry and prose that bear pleasingly on the patriotic idea and that touch the different lights and shades of its color. And since much is being said about nationalism these days, it is not at all out of place to see its parent "patriotism" spoken of in essay and illustrated by classic prose and verse.

**Three Notable Calendars.**—Rev. Louis Unger has compiled a "New Systematic Calendar, 1925" (Cleveland: Konery Co. 25c) which divides the year into thirteen months and the month into twenty-eight days. In this arrangement there are no changeable dates; Sunday, for example, always falls on the 1st, 8th, 15th and 22nd of the month. The new system is aligned on the same page with the traditional arrangement in this neat booklet that may be used as a wall-calendar.—In delicate beauty and attractive winsomeness the *Caritaskalender* (Caritas-Verlag, Freiburg i. Br. Germany) makes its first bow to the Catholic public. There is an abundance of excellent matter and of unusually artistic illustration, while the finely colored cover-picture by Huber-Sulzemoos is sufficient to repay the purchaser. The price is one gold mark, a trifle less than twenty-five cents, plus the postage. The profits of course will be devoted to the work of charity throughout Germany, to which the Deutsche Caritasverband is dedicated.—While noting this first appearance we would also call attention to the sixtieth appearance of the *Regensburger Marien Kalender*

(Pustet) which has donned its jubilee dress. "We send out this calendar with a feeling of reverence," the editor writes, "for it is a jubilee calendar." Special efforts have therefore been made to rise to the occasion.

**A Musical Relique.**—Doubtless one of the most notable and unusual musical publications of recent times is the Auto Sacramental "The Resurrection of the Lord" (Regensburg: Alfred Coppenraths Verlag) with Foreword and stage directions in German, English, French and Spanish. We rub our eyes when we see the authorship attributed conjointly to St. Francis Borgia and Dr. Ludwig Bonvin, S.J. The fact is that this precious musical relique was originally composed by the Saint whose name is historically connected with it and for over three centuries was yearly performed in Gandia on Easter morning. Father Bonvin, of international reputation as a musical composer, has taken the old Gandia manuscript of 1697, which contains no accompaniment of musical instruments, and arranged it for stage or concert performance. We are assured that in the vocal part itself nothing, certainly nothing essential, has been changed. Here then is a production that should arouse general interest. The characters are the two Angels, Mary Magdalen, Mary the Mother of James, and John the Evangelist, supported by a Processional Choir.—That the "Little Flower Mass" (Tacoma: Kaufer Co. 80c), composed by P. A. Kaufer, is most worthy of consideration is evident from the fact that it has already reached its fourth edition. It is arranged in four parts with organ accompaniment. It is strictly in accordance with the Motu Proprio of Pope Pius X.

**Books for Schools.**—A most attractive book for the history classes of the elementary schools has been written by Thomas Bonaventure Lawler for the purpose of serving as an introduction to American History: "The Gateway to American History" (Ginn.) Equally with the lucid text, the exquisite illustrations are importantly educational. The book is designed to carry the child summarily through the ancient and modern world up to and including the first important event of our own national history.—For the children of the lower grades there is published "How and Where we Live" (Ginn) by Nellie B. Allen. The book is styled "An Open Door to Geography." It could be called a geography for small children with pictures instead of maps.—"Intermediate French Prose Composition" (Sanborn) by S. G. Patterson, Ph. D., contains practical exercises for speaking and writing French.—William McPherson and William Edwards Henderson have composed "An Elementary Study of Chemistry" (Ginn. \$2.40) to serve as an introductory college course. If the student masters these six hundred pages he shall have laid a strong foundation for more advanced work.—Finally we have "An Introduction to Calculus" (Ginn. \$2.40) by William Raymond Longley, Ph. D., and Wallace Alvin Wilson, Ph. D., with the editorial cooperation of Percy F. Smith, Ph. D.

**Christian Doctrine and Practise.**—We have received a number of excellent pamphlets from the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 7 and 8 Lower Abbey St., Dublin. Some we have mentioned elsewhere in these columns; the following we group together because of their particularly solid value. "Apologetics: Its Aim and Its Argument" by the Rev. James Leen, C. S. Sp., is a clear and brief exposition of the meaning and purpose of Catholic apologetics. The Rev. P. Coffey, Ph.D., is the author of some unique pages. They gather together gems of thought and expression scattered through our literature by the pen of the poets when they sang of "Birth and Life: Death and After-Life." Passing from doctrine to practise, the Archbishop of Attalia,

Most Rev. Patrick O'Donnell, D.D., has in "Christ's Way or Class War" written an earnest exhortation on the cultivation of peace with our fellow man. The blessings of peace and the curse of war are pointed out. Then come two pamphlets on the virtues and duties of the Catholic layman. The first is by Sir Joseph A. Glynn, entitled "The Catholic Layman." It is a call for the religious and social education and organization of the Irish Catholic layman. The next "The Catholic Layman in Public Life" by Kevin O'Higgins, Minister for Home Affairs, points more to the solution of some national problems and indicates some national defects to be overcome. Finally there is a brief account by the Comtesse de Courson of that austere and saintly hermit of modern times, "Charles de Foucauld," who, converted from a worldly life, resigned his officer's commission in the French army to join the White Fathers and distinguished himself in the army of Christ.

**Fiction.**—The Chinese are a nation of gentlemen. Their ideals are fine, their traditions sacred, and their civilization in terms of the beautiful things of life are well worth the study of Western minds. Louise Jordan Miln, in her novel "In a Shantung Garden" (Stokes, \$2.00), proves these contentions very gracefully through her hero's contact with a Chinese family. It is a very charming story of English, American and Japanese interests in Shantung.

This highly-seasoned tale of the first Crusade, "God Wills It" (Macmillan), by William Stearns Davis, is a reprint of an earlier story that appeared in 1901. Despite the fact that some of the chapters are highly overdrawn, yet the volume has merit. It will awaken interest in persons and scenes long since forgotten. There is in it plenty of action; Christians and infidels move swiftly across its pages, in peace and strife. And though at times the descriptions are a bit too exuberant, yet the novel will always rivet attention.

Out of those shop-worn materials, a mysterious murder, the detective with his reverential Watson and several suspects, A. E. W. Mason in "The House of the Arrow" (Doran. \$2.00), has succeeded in evolving a story which has the uncommon merit of holding one's interest even to the end. There are situations in it which offered opportunity for a dip into the salacious, but finer taste and morals prevailed and thus the book can be fully commended to that class of our readers which finds recreation in the solution of these gruesome problems.

Unfortunately the same entire and hearty commendation cannot be given to "The Innocents" (Bobbs-Merrill. \$2.00), by Henry Kitchell Webster. There are a few passages which mar what otherwise would have been a very clever and entertaining analysis of the heart of a boy. The boy's success at wireless as well as his steady mental growth arouse a pleased attention; but he would also acquire the science of life and in his ventures he experiences what very probably is to be expected in an innocent youth amid modern conditions. But why propagate the same temptations in others when the mere suggestion would suffice and be the better art.

Humphrey Dorsett, convinced that he had been most of his life a "negative slug," resolves to make amends before it is too late. How he does so is told in "The Unseemly Adventure" (Holt. \$2.00), by Ralph Straus. The character of Appleby Magnus is somewhat original, but the improbabilities of the story are too evident, the humor is on the whole artificial, and unsavory details are frequently and unnecessarily introduced.

"Queen Calafia" (Dutton. \$2.00), by Vincent Blasco Ibanez is a novel of Spanish and California life. In accumulation of incidents, wordy chapters, and lack of unity Mr. Ibanez is an expert. There is less of the sensuous in this story than in others by this author. It has nothing to recommend it, however, for those who are interested in real fiction.



## Education

### The Catholic Lay Professor

IN one of the Eastern States, there is a Catholic college with an enrolment slightly in excess of 1,000. Twenty-five years ago, it had fewer than 200 students and a faculty of twelve. Today, what with associates and assistants on a full-time program, the faculty numbers sixty. Students and faculty members have increased in almost the same numerical proportion.

Going back a quarter of a century, we find that the religious Order conducting this college admitted, on an average, forty novices annually. During the last five years, this average has risen to seventy. It will be seen that while students and faculty have increased five-fold in twenty-five years, the Order has not quite doubled its numbers. Evidently, the tradition that the college staff must be drawn exclusively from the Order cannot long be maintained. It is not, in fact, generally maintained today. In the college I have in mind, of every five professors and associates three are religious, but other Catholic colleges have not kept this proportion. In some nearly half the faculty are laymen, and there are perhaps two or three in which laymen slightly outnumber the religious.

This is a new condition which as yet has not been satisfactorily adjusted. Many Catholic parents, wishing their sons and daughters to be confided to priests or religious, are inclined to resent the presence of the layman on the faculty. Some religious may likewise look upon him as an academic weakness to be tolerated in the spirit of "it is the best we can do for the present." In my judgment, this attitude is wrong. Priests and religious cannot be found in sufficient numbers for our rapidly growing colleges. At present it does not seem at all probable that we may count upon an increase in vocations to the teaching Orders and communities relatively as large as the increase in the number of our students. The most profitless method of securing adjustment to a fact is to quarrel with it. Whether we welcome or curse, it still exists. If we are to take the students who now apply by thousands, instead of turning so many away, as we are forced to do, to the non-Catholic college, larger faculties must be had. We cannot get them from the teaching Orders. Hence, it seems to me, we must face the problem of enlisting laymen, our own graduates, and Catholics who have graduated from other institutions.

It is not a prospect of woe. The lay professor, as a rule, does splendid work. I am not unaware of exceptions. In some instances, he may lack the genuine Catholic spirit, absolutely essential in all Catholic training and for this want a great name and acknowledged ability in his subject will not compensate. If the Catholic institution, whether it be a kindergarten or a university, is not Catholic from turret to foundation-stone, it ought to be closed. It is not a burden only. It is a menace. But

that is not the lay professor we would seek. Catholic college deans and presidents have told me that he is the exception, not the rule. "He is the best man I have," was the recommendation given by a dean to a lay professor of mathematics. "We feel that we have been blessed in securing her for the department of history," writes the dean of a Catholic college for women. The Catholic college will never follow the example of its secular neighbor in disregarding the religion and morality of an applicant for a teaching position, provided that he is neither notorious nor unfavorably known to the police, to center attention upon his academic attainments. Even the professor of geology in a Catholic college is supposed to practise his religion and teach it, if not by precept, by his example. But I think there are hundreds of men and women, thoroughly qualified by personal character and academic worth, who are not only willing but anxious to associate themselves with a Catholic college.

A serious difficulty at once presents itself: the want in our Catholic colleges of money. The prospective professor may be a good Catholic as well as a master of his subject, but he has not taken a vow of poverty. He must live. To live, he must eat. He will not find it pleasant to bare his bosom to the pitiless elements, or to wander about in the storm like Mad Tom on the moor. Hence he must pay the butcher, the baker, and the modern candlestick maker, the electric light company, as regularly as any capitalist. He must also pay rent, or an instalment on the mortgage. He may even wish to marry and bring up a family in learning and godliness. But in what Catholic college will he obtain the stipend which he can command at the secular institution of similar rank? A few such institutions may be found, but a buzz-saw worker, I think, might count them on his remaining fingers.

As an example fairly common, I may mention a young man who a few years ago graduated at a Catholic college. He then specialized at an Eastern university for his master's degree, and finished nearly half his work toward the doctorate. At this stage circumstances made it imperative to defer the doctorate for a time, and seek employment. Making the round of a number of Catholic colleges, he was received with open arms and the offer of a part-time position at \$600 a year. This was the best they could provide. As the sum would have been insufficient for his actual expenses, he was forced to decline with sincere regret, and to apply to the dean of his graduate school. The university bureau secured for him an instructorship in a secular college, the annual stipend being \$1,200 and maintenance. Rank and salary have been advanced since that time, and arrangements have been made for leave of absence to enable him to proceed to the doctorate. His desire is to affiliate himself in time with a Catholic college. Very few Catholic institutions will be able, I fear, to offer what he may reasonably expect to receive elsewhere.

Possibly what Stephen Leacock calls the "market" is better now than eight years ago. But it is not yet good enough to attract the men and women who could help us in the work of Catholic education. For ages the world looked on teaching as a by-product of religion or pure devotion, and hence as a dole to be given as freely as the bread and soup at the monastery kitchen. The non-Catholic world today has traveled far away from that medieval notion, and is prone to exhibit teaching as a source of income rather than as a very noble profession. The truth lies between these extremes.

We need the lay professor in the Catholic college. The least we can offer him is a living wage, an income that will enable him to live decently, to provide for his family, to put something aside for the day of tribulation. He must also be secure in his tenure, and not be dropped or shifted about like an unsatisfactory office boy or maid of all work. His honor and dignity, it may be taken for granted, will be safeguarded in the Catholic colleges. But what college among them can offer the stipend which will attract and hold capable men and women in the profession?

Who can answer the question, and solve the problem?

JOHN WILTBYE.

## Sociology

### The English or American System?

**S**HALL we adopt the English system which puts parliament above the executive and judiciary? The constitutional amendment proposed by the Progressives and radicals suggests the question. "In England," we are told, "no power to veto acts of parliament is possessed by the court, and no English king has dared to exercise a veto for generations."

Senator La Follette, in his New York speech on September 18, summed up the Progressive proposal as follows:

Whenever the [Supreme] Court assumes to nullify an act of Congress the Court shall certify its decision with the reasons for sending it back to the Congress. If those reasons seemed sufficient it would be the plain duty of Congress to acquiesce in the decision of the Court. If, however, . . . it appeared that the decision of the Court was based on economic or political opinions of the judges and there was no real conflict between the Constitution and the law in question, it would be the clear duty of the law-making branch of the Government to repass the measure.

In other words, Congress would have the power to review decisions of the Court and to decide finally whether or not a law is in harmony with the Constitution. Congress would be the supreme judicial as well as the legislative body. Such an arrangement would evidently run counter to the spirit of the Constitution, which provides three coordinate branches of the Government, each supreme in its own sphere and none dominating any other. Section I of Article III reads thus:

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish.

The Progressives point out that they propose to go about making the change in a constitutional manner, that the President and Congress could not decide the question, which would be put to the people. But even popular approval could not make constitutional a scheme which may fit in with the basic law of some other country but is out of line with our Constitution. True, as the Progressive manifesto contends, "this nation was founded on the principle that 'governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.'" Now the people, through the founders of the Republic, gave their consent to a certain system in which the executive, legislative, and judicial powers are entrusted to three independent departments. The people are still sovereign, as the Progressives insist; but they have not made the Congress the sole repository of that sovereignty. The President, for instance, is supreme in his sphere as representative of the people while his term continues. The people may in a perfectly legal manner limit the power of the executive and judiciary in favor of the legislature, or vice versa, but in doing so they change the system and abolish part of the Constitution.

"The root of the trouble," complains a Progressive leader, "lies in the power of the courts to nullify laws." Is that power not inherent in the very act of interpreting the statutes? If the judiciary must accept every act of Congress or of a legislature, what is the use of interpreting the basic law? If a judge misinterprets the law, that is due to false logic or human error, not to the Constitution. If Congress exercised the judicial veto, what guarantee would we have against similar errors and abuses? The Progressives concede that we would have no absolute guarantee. They reply that the Court can err as well as Congress. The court is not infallible. For instance, it approved the Volstead Act although medical experts admit that a beverage with one-half of one per cent alcohol is not intoxicating to the average normal human being. But the Court consists of nine men who have specialized in law; Congress includes many men who have not studied law. Judges hold office by appointment. Members of the House face an election every two years. They are subject to an army of lobbyists in the capital and to a flood of appeals and threats from constituents. Which group of men is more likely to judge independently and calmly? We have had numerous illustrations in recent years of how far a weak Congress can be driven in putting through freak and extreme measures if it can be led to believe by an army of lobbyists that the people demand certain legislation, or if a strong President swings the whip of party patronage and press criticism.

Opponents of the proposed amendment term it Socialistic. This would seem to be partisan exaggeration. A



thing may be opposed to our system of government and, hence, un-American in that sense; but it may be in harmony with the fundamental law of some other country, which is anything but Socialistic. Thus in England, parliament is supreme, and this system has obtained for more than a century. But in a country with no written Constitution or one that is largely unwritten and, therefore, what the present legislature wills it to be, the rights of minorities are not so secure as in the United States. Nor would these be so well safeguarded even here had not a bill of rights been added in the form of the first ten Amendments to the Constitution. History is replete with instances where minorities were denied natural rights by tyrannical majorities as well as by despotic kings. At present Catholics in Rumania and Jugoslavia are suffering such oppression in violation of the treaty of Versailles.

A majority vote is not a test of morality or logic.

The proposed amendment, we are told by its advocates, would not give State legislatures the power to re-enact laws over the decisions of the Supreme Court. "Such decisions as that of the Supreme Court in the Oregon school case," says a Progressive pamphleteer, "would not be affected." Indeed the Federal Courts could still declare unconstitutional State laws closing private schools. Suppose, however, that Congress set up a Department of Education controlling the school-system of the entire country. Sentiment for such a department is strong now, and a Department of Education and Welfare, although with limited powers, is favored by the present administration. Suppose again that Congress gave this Department power to compel all children to attend the public schools. The Supreme Court might hold this a violation of the first Amendment forbidding Congress to enact a law "prohibiting the free exercise" of religion. Congress could repass the law. A majority of its members might be of the opinion that religious liberty merely means the right to go to church and teach religion there; that it does not involve the right to send children to private religious schools. Judging from the 200,000 votes polled by foes of religious schools in the recent Michigan primary and from the school act passed last year in Oregon, many citizens are of this opinion even today.

Progressives recall that so eminent an American as Theodore Roosevelt some years ago advocated the recall of judges and of judicial decisions. A bishop at the time said that such a recall system could easily lead to "mobocracy." Judges, desiring to stay on the bench would be tempted to render their decisions with one eye on the newspapers and the people and the other on the statute books. Roosevelt, sterling American that he was, must have been moved to his radical proposal by some grave miscarriage of justice. In recent years we have seen court injunctions used to deny workingmen by indirection the God-given right to organize, and cease labor. Those injunctions were not granted by the Supreme Court. The remedy for them is to be sought in an attorney-general

who is competent, not merely a politician, and in district attorneys and judges inspired by Christian principles of social justice. One extreme does not justify another.

We are reminded that Abraham Lincoln declared in his First Inaugural: ". . . If the policy of the Government upon vital questions is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers. . . ."

Lincoln's criticism was directed especially against the Dred Scott decision by which the Court held that a slave had no rights as a citizen and likewise denied that Congress could bar slave property from any State. The slavery issue was definitely settled only by the adoption of the thirteenth and fourteenth Amendments. As soon as the people, through Congress and the legislatures, supplemented the Constitution on this question, the Court acquiesced in the new policy. From this viewpoint the Lincoln incident becomes an argument against the proposal of the Progressives to change the relation between Congress and the Court, instead of seeking a basis for social-economic laws by further defining the Constitution.

Those who advocate new amendments for this purpose contend that the Constitution was drawn up before the development of our complex social and economic system. Hence, they argue, human rights are in danger of being subordinated to property rights. Their opponents insist that the Constitution is based on the general principles of liberty and Christian ethics and, therefore, sufficiently broad to meet all our needs. Either the great document warrants the legislation required by new conditions or it does not. If it does not suffice for a solution of our economic problems as far as Christian laws can cope with them, then the remedy evidently lies in amendments. The Supreme Court declared an income tax law outside the provisions of the Constitution in the nineties; but it did not block an amendment specifically authorizing Congress to impose such a tax. Owing to the tendency toward centralization of power, any new social amendments require safeguards against infringements on natural and social rights. If the Constitution has not been sufficiently defined then the Supreme Court cannot be justly blamed for holding certain laws unconstitutional. When a man plans an addition to his house, he must first extend the foundations. He cannot hang the new structure to the side of the old one.

Assuming that the Constitution suffices and that, as Senator LaFollette and Justice Holmes have asserted, judges have interpreted it in the light of the liberalistic Manchester school of economy, then relief is to be sought with men holding sound principles of Christian economy. In either case there is no warrant for upsetting the constitutional balance between two co-ordinate branches of the government by giving Congress autocratic powers that might be utilized to set up a despotism of the majority at the bidding of public caprice or press dictation.

GEORGE MEDWAY.

## Note and Comment

### Prison Sunday Observance

**O**CTOBER 28 is this year set aside in Protestant churches as Prison Sunday. The observance here brought to our notice began in 1884 and has since been fostered by the American Prison Association. The object is to lessen the number of prison inmates by preventive work, through parish, school and social organizations and to "make every place of penal servitude a reform institution." Here are some figures which are given to emphasize the gravity of the present situation in regard to criminality in our country:

According to the Federal Census of 1922 there were 163,889 persons confined in our penal and reformatory institutions. An eminent authority on crime estimates that 500,000 people are placed behind prison bars in the United States in the course of a single year. The cost of prevention, detection, prosecution and punishment of crime is not less than one billion dollars annually. It is also possible to approximate the economic loss which this enforced separation from productive enterprise represents. The Board of Public Welfare of the State of Indiana, for example, has figured out that in that State, in the sixteen years during which the Indeterminate Sentence and Parole law has been in operation, the total earnings of the 3,451 men and women whose sentences were suspended amounts to \$6,143,197.85, or a little more than \$1,780 for each individual. From these figures it is possible to arrive at a close estimate of the losses suffered by imprisonment.

Besides the prisoners themselves, perhaps 1,500,000 persons are affected each year through the loss of the family's bread-winner, and bowed down with the shame and disgrace of it all. The Church, too, is disgraced by the number of her own children who in despite of her teachings and councils go the way of wrong-doing that leads to a prison cell. Catholics have good reason to give the subject serious consideration.

### Financial Aspect of Motion Picture Industry

**D**URING the course of this year, a series of articles on the financial aspect of the motion picture industry, by L. W. Boynton, appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*. We learn of a single moving picture corporation which has a gross income of \$1,000,000 a week. This is the financial return for renting its pictures to the theaters of the country. In addition it has a large foreign business, said to be twenty-five per cent of the entire foreign trade. The latter, in 1923, totaled 200,000,000 lineal feet of film, while only 425 foreign pictures were sent here for sale, and of these only six were sold and exhibited. The following statistics about this industry, which in twenty years has leaped from nowhere into the eighth place among the leading industries of our country, are given by Mr. Boynton as the best obtainable:

The investment is \$1,500,000,000.

Total number of persons permanently employed, in all its branches, 300,000.

Average number of feature pictures produced yearly, 700.

Average weekly attendance at picture theaters, 50,000,000.

Admissions paid annually total about \$500,000,000.

Salaries and wages paid at the studios, \$75,000,000 annually.

Theaters running from six to seven days a week, 9,000.

Theaters running four to five days a week, 1,500.

Theaters running one to three days a week, 4,500.

Producers and exhibitors spend \$5,000,000 a year in newspaper and magazine advertising.

Producers spend \$7,000,000 annually for photos, cuts, slides, and other accessories; lithographs, printing and engraving.

Yet Mr. Will H. Hays tells us that motion pictures, "great as is their present, are nearly all in the future. Their yesterdays are few and almost insignificant as compared with their all-powerful tomorrows." In fact we learn that \$100,000,000 was spent in 1923 on new theater construction, and that this amount will be largely increased in 1924.

### Missionary Asks for Scraps of Paper

**F**ATHER HENRY IGNATIUS WESTROPP, S.J., is a veteran missionary. He sends us word from the Patna Mission in India that all he needs is just scraps of paper, "usually colored green," he suggests, "with a picture of Washington or even some less well-known President upon them." His people are interested in the numerals printed in the corner, it seems, and the larger the figures are the better they are pleased. But why send these scraps or their equivalent? Here are some reasons he has to offer:

The Patna Mission is the only American Catholic mission in India. It is also one of the largest, since it contains 126,000 square miles of territory, and has a population of 25,000,000 people. In the matter of equipment and schools it is by far the poorest in India. From the Propagation of the Faith it received the merest dole. While neighboring dioceses can afford hundreds and even thousands of catechists it can afford only a few. Yet without catechists no mission work can be conducted on a large scale. On the other hand the non-Catholic missions there are supplied with millions of dollars to carry on their work.

In spite of all these difficulties many conversions are being made. "We have many brilliant openings at present among various casts," he writes, "but lack of funds prevents us from making use of these splendid opportunities, and Our Lady of Victory Mission still consists of grass huts only." Father Westropp is interesting himself in the poor, the widow, the orphan, the down-trodden. He is giving them the best he has to give. "We are educating their children for catechists and for the priesthood and certainly this is as deserving a work as can be imagined." His address is: Our Lady of Victory Mission, Victoria, Paharia, India. Money will gladly be forwarded to him by the AMERICA PRESS. We shall see he duly gets the scraps of paper, or their equivalent, whether they come to us colored or plain black-on-white. Even a small gift will go a great way where the daily wage of a woman worker is five cents and a man is paid seven. A large gift should accomplish wonders.